



Animal Worship in the Mycenaean Age

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ANIMAL WORSHIP IN THE MYCENAEAN AGE.

I.—THE CULT OF THE ASS.

ἦν ἄρα καὶ κάνθωσι τύχη χαλεπή τε καὶ ἐσθλή.

Anthol. Pal. II. xi. 383.

AMONG the many discoveries made by the Greek Archaeological Society at Mycenae in 1886 there is one which, for the student of primitive religion, possesses a quite exceptional interest—I refer to the strange fresco here reproduced (Fig. 1). It was recovered at the excavation of a chamber belonging to the oldest period. The fresco itself was found on a wall somewhat to the south of this chamber, but evidently connected with the

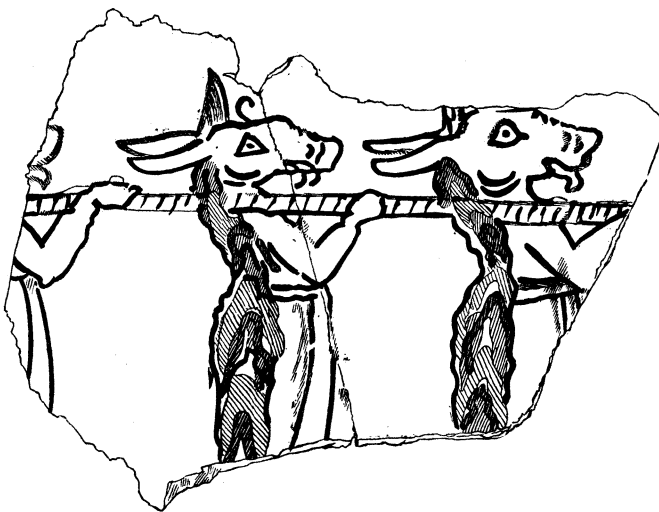


FIG. 1.

same group of buildings. M. Tsountas, the able director of the operations, describes¹ it as εὐρεθὲν κάτω πλησίον τοῦ οἴκου—οὐχὶ ἐν αὐτῷ—παρά τι ἀγγεῖον ἐκ μολύβδου ἔχον σχῆμα λουτήρος. It may be well to quote further his own account of the find. 'It represents,' he says, 'three figures

¹ *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1887, pp. 160-161, Pl. X.

bearing on their shoulders a pole, which they grasp with their right hands—the left in each case not being shown. On the head of the central figure may still be seen an excrescence of some sort, which probably denoted a tassel of the creature's hair: the ears slope backwards, and from their roots depends the rest of the animal's long tresses, which are plaited; at least, this I take to be the meaning of the colours employed: they also wear a girdle about their loins. The bodies, including that of the central figure, are not preserved sufficiently to enable us to decide whether they are the bodies of beasts or of men. About the pole is wound a fillet; though its extremities, from which a pair of corresponding objects was probably hung, are now lost. The heads are not those of horses but of asses, as is evident from the long ears and the general outline of the mouth with its lips and nostrils.'

As to the precise significance of these curious figures no very satisfactory conclusion has yet been reached. M. Tsountas himself, and indeed the majority of archaeologists, is content to refer to Dr. Milchhöfer's work *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland* as containing a sufficient explanation of the scene. The chapter in question deals with the so-called 'Island stones'; and in it the author seeks to prove that a large proportion of the subordinate Greek divinities,—including the Harpies, Winds, Gorgons, Centaurs, Satyrs and Sileni, as well as Demeter, Erinyes, Pegasus, Areion, Iris, the Minotaur and the Dioscuri—all group themselves around the central figure of the Horse, and are in fact differentiations of that same primitive cult. Whether this is so or not, I shall endeavour to determine later on. For the present it is enough to point out that Dr. Milchhöfer's essay deals only with the Horse,—he does not so much as mention the Ass;—and therefore he can hardly be said to have provided a satisfactory solution of the picture before us.

Since the discovery of this stucco-painting at Mycenae a very different explanation has been offered by Dr. Winter,² who regards such figures as 'mistaken copies of the sacred Hippopotamus, the Egyptian goddess Thueris.'³ With this interpretation Dr. Walter Leaf⁴ was formerly disposed to agree. But I would urge against it two objections. In the first place it is hard to see why her figure should have been thus repeated three times in a single scene. And in the second place we have direct evidence that Mycenaean art was much better acquainted with the shape of the hippopotamus than this theory would lead us to suppose. For among the terracotta vases found at Hissarlik in the *débris* of the second city (the Homeric Troy) were several in the form of animals, one of them giving a very fair idea of the hippopotamus.⁵ In short, though a single figure within the

² *Jahrbuch des K. d. Instituts*, 1890, p. 108 (Arch. Anzeiger).

³ 'The hippopotamus Ta-ur stood for a Typhonic or evil divinity, and was more an object to be prayed against than prayed to. Its temple was at Papremis. Naville calls it the emblem of impudence. Set took the body

of a red hippopotamus.' J. Bonwick, *Egyptian Belief*, p. 227 *fin.*

⁴ *Schliemann's Excavations*, Eng. ed. 1891, p. 292, n. 1.

⁵ *Schliemann's Excavations*, p. 72. Cp. Keller, *Thiere des classischen Alterthums*, p. 205.

small compass of a lenticular gem might conceivably be accepted as a distortion of Thueris, a comparison of the three lively figures on our fresco either with the above-mentioned Mycenaean portrait of the hippopotamus, or with the Egyptian statues of Thueris herself,⁶ will make any such explanation appear arbitrary and improbable.

Admitting then that these figures are neither horses nor river-horses, but simply asinine,⁷ we have to account for their peculiar appearance, and to offer some solution as to their significance. It will, I think, be well to remember two facts with regard to their provenance. They were discovered, as I have said, on the citadel of Mycenae; and connected with the spot where they were unearthed was a court-yard, which contained remains of an old sacrificial pit similar to the one disclosed at Tiryns by Dr. Dörpfeld. There is therefore a certain amount of *à priori* probability for attributing to them some religious meaning.

Bearing this in mind, let us turn for a moment to another citadel of the Mycenaean civilization, the Akropolis at Athens. Here, in the days when 'the strong house of Erechtheus' was still standing, there was performed a ceremony which, thanks to scattered notices in the extant classics, can be partially reconstructed. It would appear that even in the time of Aristophanes girls between five and ten years of age were accustomed on certain occasions to celebrate a propitiatory rite in honour of Artemis Brauronia. This was done within the precinct of the Akropolis. Clad in saffron robes, which they afterwards presented to the goddess, they mimicked the action of bears (*ἀρκεύεσθαι*): indeed they were themselves called *ἄρκτοι* and their festival *τὰ ἀρκεῖα*. Further, it is possible that the saffron robes were the substitution of a more polished age for the rude bear-skins donned by less civilized worshippers.⁸

Applying this analogy to the case before us, we may maintain that there is no antecedent improbability against the prevalence of a similar ceremony at Mycenae. And if it could be shown that the ass was an animal

⁶ See the *Gazette Archéologique*, 1888, Pl. I. No. 6: Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 276: Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Ancient Egyptian Art*, Eng. ed. vol. i. p. 63, Fig. 42. An Egyptian picture of the 'Nilpferd' may be seen in Keller, *op. cit.* p. 206, Fig. 41. Even the Bushmen of S. Africa show greater skill in drawing this animal than Winter would allow the early Greeks; cp. a cave-painting in A. Lang, *Custom and Myth*, p. 295, Fig. 9.

⁷ Mr. A. J. Evans writes to me that he is collecting fresh evidence against Winter's theory. M. Cavvadias, *Fouilles de Lycosoura*, Livr. i. p. 12, n. 2, agrees with M. Tsountas in his interpretation: 'Les figures monstrueuses, peintes sur un fragment de stuc trouvé dans le palais de Mycènes, sont, à mon avis, des figures humaines à tête d'âne, vêtues d'une tunique talaire.'

Similarly Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. vi. p. 885, 'Ceux-ci ont, sur un buste et avec des bras d'homme, des têtes d'âne.'

⁸ So A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, p. 213, n. 1: 'The bear-skin seems later to have been exchanged for a saffron raiment.' This derives dubious support from a fragment of the figured peplos belonging to Damophon's group of Demeter, Despoina, *Artemis*, and Anutos; a female with the head of a bear dances in company with other animal forms. A parallel case would be Catlin's picture of the Indian bear-dance (pub. by Currier and Ives, New York), which shows a ring of warriors crouching like bears, some of them wearing bear-skin masks that conceal the whole head, and one a complete skin covering back, arms, and legs.

likely to be worshipped by the early dwellers on the citadel, the details of our fresco would receive a clear and simple solution. For I would suggest that we have here a representation of three worshippers, dressed in asses' heads and skins, engaged in some religious function. The colouring of the skins which they wear on their backs shows them to have been some such conventional substitute as the *κροκωτός* at Athens.⁹ The girdle round the waist was used to attach the skins to their bare bodies; and the human head was probably covered by an artificial mask—this is indicated both by the flesh-tint of the face and by the two semi-circular marks under the jaw.¹⁰ Lastly, just as the *ἄρκτοι* were said¹¹ *μυστήριον ἄγειν*, so here we may find an explanation of that curious old proverb *ὄνος ἄγει μυστήρια*.

This interpretation of the painting is to some extent strengthened by a consideration of certain Island stones. There are at least three gems on which, if I have read them aright, we have scenes from the same ritual. Two out of these three were found in Crete; and though the exact source of the third is unknown, the Cretan goat upon it suggests the same island.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 4.



FIG. 3.

The first (Fig. 2) is a lenticular carnelian, now in the Berlin Museum.¹² It affords in some respects the closest parallel to the Mycenaean fresco. A figure clothed in the head and skin of an ass bears on his shoulder a pole—presumably the *ἄσιλλα* or *ἀνάφορον* of Aristophanes, *Frogs* 8¹³—which he steadies with his right hand, the left not being shown. From the ends of this pole hang two slaughtered quadrupeds, 'due lioni o pantere uccisi,' according to Helbig. The pose of the arm, and the skin coat gathered in at the waist, recall the details of the larger drawing and raise a presumption that here too we have a similar scene portrayed. The second gem (Fig. 3), a lenticular chalcedony,¹⁴ repeats the motive. This time, however, as the victim is not so heavy, it is simply slung across the left shoulder. The girdle is

⁹ Cp. Pollux, Z 56: *ἔστι δέ τι καὶ κίλλιον ἐσθῆτος χρώμα, τὸ νῦν ἀνάγρινον καλούμενον. κίλλον γὰρ τὸν ὄνον οἱ Δωριεῖς καὶ κίλλακτῆρα τὸν ὀνηλάτην λέγουσιν.*

¹⁰ Cp. Figs. p. 106 and p. 117.

¹¹ Schol. on Aristophanes *Lys.* 645.

¹² Milchhöfer, *op. cit.* p. 55, Fig. 44b: Mitchell, *Hist. of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 147, Fig. 71: Maxine Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculp. Gr.* p. 57, Fig. 35: Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. vi. p. 845, Fig. 428, 8: Brunn,

Gr. Kunstgeschichte, p. 41: Overbeck, *Gr. Kunstmythologie*, p. 683, Fig. 2.

¹³ Similar exx. of the *ἄσιλλα* in Perrot and Chipiez, *Phoenicia and Cyprus*, vol. i. p. 318: Roscher, *Lex. col.* 1167: Mitchell, *op. cit.* p. 634, Fig. 259: and two engravings in the *Revue Archéologique*, 3rd series, 1891, pp. 363, 367. Cp. Smith, *Dict. Ant.*, new ed. s.v. Asilla.

¹⁴ Milchhöfer, *op. cit.* p. 55, Fig. 44e: Lajard, *Recherches sur Milhra*, Atlas, Pl. 43, No. 19.

better shown, and the tassels down the back as well as the crest between the ears again remind us of the fresco. The third gem (Fig. 4), a glandular haematite, also in the Berlin Museum,¹⁵ represents the same figure once more with girdle and decorated skin, but in a different attitude. He is here in the act of presenting a sacred vessel; and this in all probability was another part of the same ritual, for it will be remembered that in M. Tsountas' account close to the fresco was found a strange ἀγγεῖον ἐκ μολύβδου ἔχον σχῆμα λουτήρος.

Thus far, then, assuming that the ass was the object of a special cult at Mycenae, we have found an explanation for the figures on the fresco that may at least be called consistent with the representations on the Island stones. But—it will be asked—are we justified in our assumption? Have we a right to assign any religious importance to the ass? Certainly with the Greeks as with other nations that animal was often cited merely as a symbol of stubbornness and stolidity. It is in this character only that Homer, for example, mentions it.¹⁶ Hence too come such proverbs as ὄνῳ τις ἔλεγε μῦθον or ὄνος ὕεται. And Horapollo, whose ignorance of hieroglyphics does not preclude his acquaintance with Hellenic custom, informs us¹⁷ that the Egyptians 'portray with the head of an ass' the man who has never left his own land, as being one who has no turn for enquiry and knows nothing of foreign travel. Cornelius de Pauw, commenting on sundry interpretations of that passage, remarks:¹⁸ 'Asininum caput pro capite humano sumtum loco symboli, ad denotandam hominis stupiditatem. Hoc aptum. Alia non sunt unius assis.' But *a priori* argument provokes *a priori* answer:—

“The gods?

What and where are they?” What my sire supposed,
And where yon cloud conceals them! “Till they 'scape
And scramble down to Leda, as a swan,
Europa, as a bull! why not as—*ass*
To somebody?”

Aristophanes' Apology, p. 87.

At any rate it will be worth while to ask whether ancient mythology attached any peculiar significance to the ass, and if so, how far such significance will explain the details and accessories of our problematic painting.

Now the fact that among Eastern nations the ass possesses a dignity which his Western congener has lost prepares us to learn that in the

¹⁵ Milchhöfer, *op. cit.* p. 68, Fig. 46a: Mitchell, *op. cit.* p. 147, Fig. 72: see also Helbig, *Bull.* 1875, p. 41, and Overbeck, *Gr. Kunstmythologie*, bk. iv. p. 683, Fig. 4. Is this the prototype of the St. Petersburg gem published by Miss Harrison in *Myths of the*

Odyssey, p. 70, Pl. XX. c?—‘A human figure with a swine's head, one of the comrades of Odysseus. He holds in his hand the fatal cup.

¹⁶ *Iliad* xi. 558, ὥς δ' ὅτ' ὄνος κ.τ.λ.

¹⁷ *Hieroglyphica*, i. § 23.

¹⁸ *Ed.* 1727, p. 40.

Rigvedas he is invested with supernatural powers,¹⁹ appearing now as a demi-god, now as a semi-demon. He is on the one hand a victorious warrior,²⁰ terrifying men with his discordant voice,²¹ and endowed with generative strength beyond his compeers.²² On the other hand his demoniacal aspect is also prominent:²³ he dwells in the darkness of a cavern or the gloom of hell, 'and this cavern and hell sometimes assume the form of an ass's skin, or of an ass simply.'²⁴

The conception of the celestial ass as a great warrior was naturally confined to those countries in which the terrestrial ass was employed in war. Aelian, for example, makes the following statement:²⁵

Σαρακόροι δὲ οὔτε ἀχθοφόρους, οὔτε ἀλοῦντας ἔχουσι τοὺς ὄνους, ἀλλὰ πολεμιστάς· καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν γε τοὺς ἐνοπλίους κινδύνους ὑπομένουσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων. ὅστις δ' ἄρα παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄνων ὀγκωδέστερος εἶναι δοκεῖ, τοῦτον τῷ Ἄρει προσάγουσιν ἱερόν.—

and Strabo says²⁶ of the Carmanians:

χρῶνται δ' ὄνοις οἱ πολλοί, καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον σπάνει τῶν ἵππων ὄνον τε θύουσι τῷ Ἄρει, ὄνπερ καὶ σέβονται θεῶν μόνον, καὶ εἰσι πολεμισταί,—

adding that when Darius attacked the Scythians, his contingent of asses proved most effective in routing the enemy's cavalry—

πολλάκις δὲ ἐπελαυνόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, μεταξὺ ὅκως ἀκούσειαν οἱ ἵπποι τῶν ὄνων τῆς φωνῆς, ἐταράσσοντο.

The few traces of the warrior ass that occur in classical literature may be collected here. Eratosthenes²⁷ relates that in the Gigantomachia, when Zeus summoned all the gods to the rescue, Dionysus, Hephaestus, and the Satyrs, came riding upon asses, which, though frightened themselves, so alarmed the giants by their braying that the battle was won.²⁸

¹⁹ De Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, vol. i. p. 364.

²⁰ Rigveda I. xxxiv. 9, Trans. Prof. H. H. Wilson, vol. i. p. 96, 'When will be the harnessing of the powerful ass, that you may come to the sacrifice?' i.e. the ass was the steed of the Ásvins.

²¹ Rigveda I. xxix. 5, Trans. Prof. H. H. Wilson, vol. i. p. 74, 'Indra, destroy this ass, (our adversary), praising thee with such discordant speech; and do thou, Indra, of boundless wealth, enrich us with thousands of excellent cows and horses.'

²² The Aitareya Brahmanam of the Rigveda, Trans. Martin Haug, vol. ii. p. 273 = Ait. Br. IV. ii. 9, 'The Ásvins were the winners of the race with a carriage drawn by donkeys; they obtained (the prize). Thence (on account of the excessive efforts to arrive at the goal) the donkey lost its (original) velocity. . . . The Ásvins, however, did not deprive the sperm of

the ass of its (primitive) vigour. This is the reason that the male ass (vâjī) has two kinds of sperm (to produce mules from a mare, and asses from a female ass).'

²³ Rāmâyana ii. 71, Trans. Griffith: Bharat in a dream sees his dead father carried off by a team of asses—a token that portends 'departure for the abode of Yamas.'

²⁴ De Gubernatis, *op. cit.* p. 370.

²⁵ *de Nat. An.* xii. 34.

²⁶ XV. ii. 14: cp. Arnobius IV. xxv.: 'Quis ei (sc. Marti) canes ab Caribus, quis ab Scythiis asinos immolari? non principaliter cum ceteris Apollodorus?'

²⁷ *Catast.* xi. p. 246, ed. West.

²⁸ According to Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, vol. i. pp. 158-9, ed. Rosenmüller, the same story is told by an unpublished Scholiast on Aratus: he refers to the *Schol. Germ. Arat. Phaen.* p. 51, ed. Buhle.

Pausanias (X. xviii. 4) informs us that the Ambrakiots dedicated an ass of bronze in gratitude for a night-victory over the Molossians, in which the foe had been routed by a timely bray. Similarly in Aesop's fable of the Ass and the Lion as partners in the chase,

‘auritulus
Clamorem subito totis tollit viribus
Novoque turbat bestias miraculo.’

PHAEDRUS I. xi. 6.

Lastly²⁹ Pliny mentions³⁰ the superstition that ‘pellis asini iniecta impavidos infantes facit.’

As an intermediate link between Eastern and Western mythology we have the Phrygian legend of Midas. This somewhat complex tale represents Midas as the king and forefather of the Phrygian people. In his childhood ants conveyed grains of corn into his mouth,³¹ indicating—says Cicero³²—that one day he would become the richest of all men. During the progress of Dionysus from Thrace to Phrygia Silenus strayed into his rose-gardens, and bound with wreaths of flowers was brought before him. Midas received the delinquent kindly; and Dionysus in return granted his request that whatever he touched should become gold—a favour that the king was soon glad to have cancelled. It is further stated³³ that Midas belonged to a race of Satyrs. Being visited by one of his kinsmen, who with voice and flute ridiculed him on account of his Satyr's ears, Midas mixed wine in a well, induced his detractor to drink, and so caught him. This well was still shown at Ancyra in Pausanias' time,³⁴ though others maintained that the true spot was near Thymbrium.³⁵ Better known is the story which tells how Apollo, angered because Midas preferred Pan's piping to his own harping, changed the ears of the monarch into those of an ass. For a while Midas concealed them under his Phrygian cap. But at length the servant who cut his hair discovered them, and—being unable to keep silence—dug a hole in the ground, into which he whispered the fatal news. The hole was filled up; but reeds springing from the spot betrayed the secret as they rustled in the wind.

These are the main incidents of the Midas myth. It must not of course be treated after the manner of the later mythographers as necessarily a consistent whole. But inasmuch as it regards the figure of the ass-king under several different aspects, it will form a convenient starting-point from

²⁹ Epictetus acc. Arrian (*Ep. Diss.* I. xviii. 20) bade a man walk in the way of the upright οὐχὶ τῷ μεγέθει πεποιθὸς τοῦ σώματος, ὥσπερ ἀθλητής. οὐ γὰρ ὡς ὄνον ἀήττητον εἶναι δεῖ. But this may be only a reference to the simile of *Iliad* xi. 558. Another doubtful ex. is Suidas, vol. ii. col. 1129, s.v. ὄνος εἰς κυμαίους, where it is said—παρὰ κυμαίοις ἐδόκει φοβερός εἶναι ὁ ὄνος. καὶ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς

καρὸς πάντες ἦσαν κυμαίοι σεισμοῦ καὶ χαλάζης φοβερώτερον εἶναι τὸν ὄνον ἡγούμενοι.

³⁰ Pliny, *N.H.* xxviii. 258 (ed. Sillig).

³¹ Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 45.

³² *de divin.* i. 36.

³³ Philostrat. *Vit. Apoll.* vi. 27, 2 tells the tale.

³⁴ Paus. I. iv. 5.

³⁵ Xenoph. *Anab.* I. ii. 13.

which to consider the various interpretations of this symbolism current among the Greeks.

(1) In the first place, then, we note a certain connection—whether positive or negative—between the ass and *music*. The Satyr derides Midas οὐ μόνον ᾄδων ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐλῶν. And it is for his lack of musical taste that Apollo imposes the ‘auriculas asini.’ Elsewhere we learn that the ass was sacrificed to Apollo; Pindar speaking of the Hyperboreans says:—³⁶

παρ’ οἷς ποτε Περσεὺς ἐδαίσατο λαγέτας,
δῶματ’ ἐσελθὼν,
κλειτὰς ὄνων ἐκατόμβας ἐπιτόσσαις θεῷ
ρέζοντας· ὧν θαλαίαις ἔμπεδον
εὐφάμiais τε μάλιστ’ Ἀπόλλων
χαίρει, γελᾷ θ’ ὀρῶν ὕβριν ὀρθίαν κνωδάλων.

Clemens too remarks: ³⁷ ‘Let the Scythians continue to sacrifice their asses, as Apollodorus says and Callimachus in his line—

Φοῖβος Ὑπερβορείοισιν ὄνων ἐπιτέλλεται ἱροῖς—

or again in another place—

τέρπουσιν λιπαραὶ Φοῖβον ὀνοσφαγίαι.’

Antoninus Liberalis is more circumstantial. He tells ³⁸ how a certain Babylonian, Kleinis by name, travelled to the temple of Apollo in the country of the Hyperboreans and—like Perseus before him—saw *ἱερονργουμένας αὐτῷ τὰς θυσίας τῶν ὄνων*. Returning to Babylon he attempted a similar sacrifice himself; but Apollo forbade it, *τὴν γὰρ τῶν ὄνων θυσίαν ἐν Ὑπερβορείοις ἀγομένην αὐτῷ καθ’ ἡδονὴν εἶναι*. Two of Kleinis’ sons disobeyed the command and drove asses to the altar. The god in vengeance maddened the beasts, which devoured Kleinis and all his family. However, before they died, Apollo at the request of Leto and Artemis *μεταβαλὼν ἐποίησε πάντας ὄρνιθας*.³⁹ Despite Apollo’s predilection for the Hyperborean breed there was an annual sacrifice of asses at Delphi: this we gather from an important inscription ⁴⁰ in which occurs the line—

τὸν φόρον καὶ τὰ ἱερῆια ἀθρόα συναγόντων, τοὺς ὄνοϋς, τὸν δοκιμα...

Emendations have been proposed; but Boeckh’s comment is just: ‘de asinis non est quod dubites; non Graeci Hyperboreos fecissent Apollini asinorum hecatomben offerentes, nisi in Graecia quoque asini mactati Apollini essent.’ It may be plausibly conjectured that, just as in the Vedic hymn ‘the god Indras...is requested by the poet to kill the ass who sings with horrible

³⁶ *Pyth.* x. 31 ff.

³⁷ *Cohortatio ad Gentes*, vol. i. col. 101, ed. Migne.

³⁸ Ed. Koch, p. 28 ff.

³⁹ This is perhaps due to a misunderstanding of the expression *ὄνον ὄρνιν* in Aristophanes, *Birds*, 721.

⁴⁰ Boeckh, *C.I.G.* vol. i. p. 807, line 14.

voice,'⁴¹ so in Hellenic legend the braying ass is devoted to Apollo in his office of *μουσαγέτης* and *λυροκτύπος*.⁴² From some such sense of propriety arose the adage⁴³ *ὄνος λύρας (ἀκούει or ἄπτεται)*, and the saying explained by Suidas⁴⁴—*ὄνος πρὸς αὐλόν*. In the same vein Plutarch with reference to the Phrygian bone flute remarks⁴⁵ that the ass *παχύτατος καὶ ἀμουσότατος ὢν τᾶλλα, λεπτότατον καὶ μουσικώτατον ὁστέον παρέχεται*. To which Niloxenos replies: *Ἀμέλει ταῦτα καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς Ναυκρατίταις ἐγκαλοῦσι Βουσιρίται· χρώμεθα γὰρ ἤδη τοῖς ὀνείοις εἰς τὸν αὐλόν· ἐκείνοις δὲ καὶ σάλπιγγος ἀκούειν ἀθέμιτον, ὥς ὄνφ φθεγγομένης ὁμοιον· ὄνον δὲ ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων ἴστε δῆπου διὰ Τυφῶνα*⁴⁶ *προπηλακίζομενον*. Aelian too informs us that the worshippers of Serapis detest the ass, and that Ochus the Persian, knowing their feelings on the subject, *ἀπέκτεινε μὲν τὸν Ἄπιν, ἐξεθέωσε δὲ τὸν ὄνον*,⁴⁷ *ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα λυπήσαι θέλων τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους*. 'However,' he adds, 'it is said that the ass was *τῷ Τυφῶνι προσφιλή*.' These scraps of Egyptian lore⁴⁸ are cited by Aelian *ἀπὸ πρῶτος* of a Pythagorean maxim to the effect that the ass *μόνον τῶν ζώων μὴ γεγεῖναι κατὰ ἁρμονίαν*. *ταύτη τοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἦχον τὸν τῆς λύρας εἶναι κωφότατον*. A striking illustration is supplied by a mosaic at Palermo⁴⁹ which represents Orpheus playing, and among the animals listening to him even an ass.

There is therefore a certain amount of evidence for supposing that the ass was traditionally deficient in musical skill. I am, however, inclined to suspect that this deficiency was not primitive, but an effect of later rationalism. Indeed the early mind would be far more likely to consider the ass a great vocalist than to reflect that the notes he produced were harsh and discordant. It is as a popular critic of music that Aesop, for example, makes him judge the contest between the nightingale and the cuckoo; and a genuine love for singing may be detected in his endeavour to imitate the

⁴¹ De Gubernatis, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 374.

⁴² Roscher, *Lex.* col. 435, 40-1.

⁴³ *Paroemiog. Graec.* ed. Leutsch and Schneidewin, vol. i. pp. 291-2. The proverb occurs in several forms: *ὄνος λύρας ἤκουε καὶ σάλπιγγος ὅς: ὄνος λυρίζων· τί γὰρ κοινόν φασι λύρα καὶ ὄνφ; ὄνοι ἀπωτέρω κἀθῆνται τῆς λύρας*: etc.

⁴⁴ Suidas, vol. ii. col. 1129: *παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ συγκατατιθεμένων, μηδὲ ἐπαινούντων· διὰ τὸ παντελῶς ἀναίσθητον τοῦ ὄνου*.

⁴⁵ *Sap. Conviv.* v. For this use of ass-bones, cp. Eustathius, *Opusc.* ed. Tafel, p. 58, 63, *ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ ὀνείων ὁστών, οὕτω καὶ ἀπὸ νεβρέων αἰλοὶ ἐγίνοντο*, and Pliny, *N.H.* xi. 215, 'asinorum (ossa) ad tibias canora': *Idem*, xvi. 172.

⁴⁶ Cp. Plut. *de Isid. et Osirid.* 50.

⁴⁷ Cp. Aelian, *Var. Hist.* iv. 8, with *de Nat. Anim.* x. 28.

⁴⁸ On the ass in Egypt, see J. Bonwick, *Egyptian Belief*, p. 228. Prof. Robertson

Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, pp. 448-9, collects the evidence for supposing that the ass was a sacred animal among the Semites: he adds, 'An actual ass-sacrifice appears in Egypt in the worship of Typhon (Set or Sutech), who was the chief god of the Semites in Egypt, though Egyptologists doubt whether he was originally a Semitic god. The ass was a Typhonic animal, and in certain religious ceremonies the people of Coptus sacrificed asses by casting them down a precipice, while those of Lycopolis, in two of their annual feasts, stamped the figure of a bound ass on their sacrificial cakes. . . . It has been supposed that the Golden Set, worshipped by the Semite Hyksos in the Delta, was a Sun-god.' It was, by the way, an Egyptian grammarian—Apion by name—who first promulgated the tale that the Jews worshipped an ass's head of gold in the temple at Jerusalem.

⁴⁹ *Arch. Zeit.* 1869, vol. xxvii. 40.

grasshopper by dint of feeding on dew. Phaedrus and the later fabulists adopt the less naïve view :—

‘Asinus iacentem vidit in prato lyram.
Accessit et temptavit chordas ungula;
Sonuere tactae. Bella res, sed mehercules
Male cessit, inquit, artis quia sum nescius.
Si repperisset aliquis hanc prudentior,
Divinis aures oblectasset cantibus.’

PHAEDR. *App.* xii.

But to find the ass as a veritable musician we must go back to the East. In the fifth book of the *Pantchatantra*⁵⁰ the ass Ouddhata plays truant along with a jackal. Turning a deaf ear to the arguments and entreaties of the latter he insists upon singing, having first proved his minute and accurate knowledge of musical laws :

‘Après que cela fut fait, l’âne tendit son cou et se mit à crier. Puis le garde des champs, quand il entendit le cri de l’âne, grinça les dents de colère, prit un bâton et accourut. Lorsqu’il aperçut l’âne, il lui donna tant de coups de bâton, que Ouddhata, accablé de coups, tomba à terre.’

Again, this animal has been identified⁵¹ with the Vedic ‘gandharvâs,’ who amongst other offices taught music and dancing to the gods.⁵² Now Prof. Kuhn holds that these ‘gandharvâs’ are, both in name and nature, the Oriental counterpart of the Hellenic κένταυροι.⁵³ Possibly therefore the Centaurs, who in Greek legend and Greek art are constantly represented as teaching or playing instruments of music, were originally asses. On migrating westwards to a land where the Eastern ass was largely replaced by the horse, their mythical rôle was to some extent transferred to the latter animal. However popular tradition kept as a collateral type the older asinine beings, calling them ονοκένταυροι to distinguish them from the usurping ιπποκένταυροι. They are described by Hesychius⁵⁴ as—τριχῶντες, δαιμόνων τι γένος, κάθυλον καὶ σκοτεινὸν τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ—and more in detail by Krates.⁵⁵

(2) A second⁵⁶ trait in the Midas legend connects the ass-king with corn and wine. When a child, ants convey grains of corn into his mouth.

⁵⁰ *Pantchatantra* V. vii. Trans. E. Lancereau, p. 330 ff. A very similar tale occurs in the *Toûti-Nameh* (ed. Rosen, ii. 218), a collection of Oriental myths translated from the Turkish version. Benfey in his *Einleitung* to the *Pantchatantra* (§ 188, p. 463) regards this as the source of the proverb ‘Asinus ad lyram.’

⁵¹ De Gubernatis, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 365.

⁵² Monsieur H. Fauche in vol. ii. p. II. of his *Trans. of the Ramayana* describes the Gandharvâs as ‘musiciens célestes, Demi-Dieux, qui habitent le ciel d’Indra et composent l’orchestre à tous les banquets des principales Divinités.’

⁵³ See E. H. Meyer, *Gandharven-Kentauren*, Berlin, 1883, and the authorities quoted by O. Gruppe, *Culte und Mythen*, 1887, p. 103, n. 2. Are the words κύνων, κανθήλιος of the same derivation?

⁵⁴ ed. Schmidt, vol. iii. p. 209.

⁵⁵ ed. Wachsmuth, p. 69.

⁵⁶ The link between the ass *quâ* musician and the ass *quâ* attendant on the corn-deities is furnished by the recent excavations at Lycosoura. On the border of *Demeter’s* peplos appears a female figure with an ass’s head and hands, playing upon the *cithara*. The same

In later life he treats the flower-wreathed Silenus kindly and is rewarded by Dionysus. He captures the Satyr by mixing wine in a well. These are but slight indications of a wide-spread symbolism. For the ass is regularly associated with the worship of Demeter and Dionysus. Hesychius, in explaining the proverb *ὄνος ἄγει μυστήρια*, remarks⁵⁷ *τοῖς μυστηρίοις ἐξ ἄστεος (εἰς Ἑ)λευσίνα κομίζουσι τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν διὰ τῶν ὄνων. τότε μάλιστα εἶχον τοὺς ὄνους ἀχθοφοροῦντας*. And a terra-cotta from Athens, now in the British Museum,⁵⁸ shows the scene: an ass carries certain sacrificial objects, among which are apparently a fish and a ram's head. Dionysus often employs the ass as a means of transport. In Aristid. *Dion.* i. 49 we read: *καὶ δύναιτ' ἂν καὶ ὄνους περοῦν (ὁ Διόνυσος) οὐχ ἵππους μόνον*. It was an ass that once carried the deity in safety across a river⁵⁹—a service for which it was endowed with human speech, and afterwards placed along with its companion among the stars,—

ὄνων τ' ἀνὰ μέσσον ἀμαυρῇ
φάτνη σημαινουσα τὰ πρὸς πλὸν εὐδία πάντα.

THEOCRIT. xxii. 21.

It was on an ass too that Dionysus succeeded in bringing back Hephaestus to Olympus: *καὶ μὴν καὶ τὴν Ἥραν λέγουσιν ὡς μόνος θεῶν τῷ υἱεῖ διήλλαξε κομίσας τὸν Ἥφαιστον ἄκοντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ ταῦτά γε ἀναθεὶς ὄνῳ*.⁶⁰ In the *Compte-Rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique* for 1863⁶¹ is a vase-painting which shows Dionysus and Ariadne riding together on an ass. Inghirami⁶² mentions several analogous vases; and Mionnet^{63, 64} describes coins of Mende and Nakona, which represent the wine-god mounted on or attended by an ass. The example set by Dionysus was followed by his satellites. Athenaeus (v. 196 ff.) describes a Dionysiac procession in the time of Ptolemy II at which hundreds of Sileni and Satyrs were carried by asses. Indeed Silenus is commonly⁶⁵ represented as riding 'pando asello'; and in the collection at Marbury Hall (Cheshire) is a small marble group of a Satyr on an ass, from the Villa Mattei: nor can we forget the Xanthias of the *Frogs*. A Bacchant rides the same beast in Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler* ii. no. 576, Inghirami, *Vasi Fittili*, vol. iii. pl. CCLX, and elsewhere.⁶⁶ Similar scenes are sometimes portrayed on sepulchral

double reference distinguishes a carnelian in the Vidoni collection (Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, ii. no. 513): in front of a rock on which is a small shrine of *Dionysus* or *Priapus* sits a *Silenus* playing the *lyre*, while an *ass* accompanies the music with his brays.

⁵⁷ ed. Schmidt, vol. iii. p. 209. The schol. on Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 159, has almost the same words: cp. also Suidas, vol. ii. col. 1128.

⁵⁸ Terra-cotta Room: central case, No. 19.

⁵⁹ Lactant. *Divin. Instit.* I. xxi. ed. Le Brun, p. 98.

⁶⁰ Aristid. *Dion.* p. 49, ed. Dind.

⁶¹ Atlas, Pl. V. No. 3. Three parallels are

cited, *Compte Rendu*, p. 229, n. 3.

⁶² *Vasi Fittili*, vol. iii. Pl. CCLXII—CCLXVIII.

⁶³ Vol. i. pp. 477–478: suppl. vol. iii. p. 82, Pl. VII. 1–4.

⁶⁴ Vol. i. p. 261: suppl. vol. i. Pl. XI. 11.

⁶⁵ See e.g. Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, ii. No. 574, and the literary reff. collected in the *Compte-Rendu* for 1863, p. 239, n. 4.

⁶⁶ Further exx. in the *Compte-Rendu* for 1863, p. 238, n. 1. In the Brit. Mus. (T.-c. Room, central case C) there is a fragment of a moulded vase which has the same design.

reliefs. A sarcophagus in the Berlin Museum shows a crowd of Bacchants and Sileni drawn by a pair of asses, stumbling under the load. Otto Benndorf, who discusses this 'argumentum' in the *Arch. Zeit.* for 1864,⁶⁷ quotes two parallels: one from a sarcophagus in Paris, on which a number of Erotes are shown playing with Dionysiac animals—three of them being drawn in a car by a pair of asses: and a second from a sarcophagus-frieze in the Vatican, where several Bacchic revellers are similarly escorted. Of Lityerses, another harvest divinity, it is said on the authority of Sositheos the tragedian:—⁶⁸

Ἔσθαι μὲν αὐτὸς τρεῖς ὄνους κανθηλίους
 τρίς τῆς βραχείας ἡμέρας· πίνει δ' ἔνα
 καλὼν μετρητὴν τὸν δεκάμφορον πίθον.

But if the ass be thus appropriated to the service of the corn-deities, it might be argued that we have here on Greek soil an instance of the corn-spirit being represented—as it was represented elsewhere⁶⁹—by an ass. A clearer example of this is the Roman custom of leading in procession an ass decked with loaves of bread and flowers. Joannes Lydus (*de mens.* iv. 59) describes the scene:—

τῇ πρὸ πέντε Εἰδῶν Ἰουνίων ἑορτῇ τῆς Ἑστίας. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἑώρταζον οἱ ἀρτοποιοί, διὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους τὸν ἄρτον ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τῆς Ἑστίας⁷⁰ κατασκευάζειν· ὄνοι δὲ ἐστεφανωμένοι ἡγούντο τῆς πομπῆς, διὰ τὸ τούτοις ἀλείσθαι τὸν σίτον.

And Ovid⁷¹ brings it into connection with Lampsacene ritual:—

‘Lampsacus hoc animal solita est mactare Priapo:
 Apta asini flammis indicis exta damus.
 Quem tu, diva (*i.e.* Vesta), memor de pane monilibus ornas,
 Cessat opus, vacuae conticuere molae.’

Lactantius⁷² corroborates the poet: ‘Apud Lampsacum Priapo litabilis victima est asellus; cuius sacrificii ratio in Fastis haec redditur.’ After telling the Ovidian story he continues, ‘Hac de causa Lampsacenos asellum Priapo, quasi in ultionem, mactare consuevisse; apud Romanos vero eundem Vestalibus sacris in honorem pudicitiae conservatae panibus coronari.’

⁶⁷ Vol. xxii. Pl. CLXXXV—CLXXXVI.

⁶⁸ Athen. 415 B.

⁶⁹ J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, vol. ii. p. 33: ‘Other animal forms assumed by the corn-spirit are the stag, roe, sheep, bear, ass,’ &c.

⁷⁰ In the *Arch. Zeit.* for 1863, vol. xxi. col. 84*, Anzeiger, a gem is mentioned representing ‘einer weiblichen Figur mit verhüllten Haupte, Scepter und Patera, die auf einem Throne sitzt,

neben dem zwei Esel stehen.’ Brunn conjectures that this is *Vesta*, R. Peter that it is the goddess *Epona*. G. Wissowa in the *Annali dell’ Inst.* for 1883, pp. 160–164, quotes a considerable number of Pompeian pictures and one marble relief that bear out Brunn’s supposition.

⁷¹ *Fasti* vi. 345 *seqq.* and 313, ‘ecce coronatis panis dependet asellis.’ Cp. Prop. V. i. 21, ‘Vesta coronatis pauper gaudebat asellis.’

⁷² *Divin. Instit.* I. xxi. ed. Le Brun, p. 98.

The mention of Priapus and the context of the passages quoted warrant us in passing from this custom to the ass as a phallic animal. Cornutus⁷³ has a suggestion worth recording: τάχα δ' ἂν χαίροι τοιούτῳ θύματι ὁ Διόνυσος διὰ τὸ ὀχευτικὸν εἶναι τὸν τράγον, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ ὄνος⁷⁴ ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς αὐτοῦ θαμίζει. I have already observed that this side of his nature was prominent in the Hindoo mythology: and traces of the same are not wanting in Greece and Italy. Lactantius in the chapter quoted above comments on a phallic contest between the ass and Priapus.⁷⁵ Plutarch in answer to the question⁷⁶ Τίς ἡ παρὰ Κυμαίοις ὀνοβάτις; describes a custom observed till within recent times in some parts of Europe; τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ ληφθείσαν ἀγαγόντες εἰς ἀγοράν...ἀνεβίβαζον ἐπ' ὄνον, καὶ τὴν πόλιν κύκλῳ περιαχθείσαν...ὀνοβάτιν προσαγορευομένην. Perhaps Suidas *s.v.* ὄνος εἰς Κυμαίους hints at the same practice when he says: ⁷⁷ τὸ ἐπ' ὄνον φέρεσθαι τινα γυμνὸν τῶν ἀτιμιῶν ἢ μεγίστη Παρθναίᾳ νενόμισται. Again, the priests of Cybele—the Galli—made their drums of asses' skins.⁷⁸ Palladius preserves a curious piece of superstition which bears on the point; seed sown may be kept from harm by putting up an ass's skull as a scare-crow.⁷⁹

'Item equae calvaria sed non virginis intra hortum ponenda est, vel etiam asinae. Creduntur enim sua praesentia foecundare, quae spectant.'

This affords a clue to the meaning of the tale told by Diogenes⁸⁰ about Empedokles—

ἐτησίῳν ποτὲ σφοδρῶς πνευσάντων ὥς τοὺς καρποὺς λυμή-
νασθαι, κελεύσας ὄνους ἐκδαρῆναι καὶ ἀσκὺς ποιεῖσθαι περὶ τοὺς
λόφους καὶ τὰς ἀκρωρείας διέτεινε πρὸς τὸ συλλαβεῖν τὸ πνεῦμα· λήξαντος
δέ, Κωλυσανέμαν κληθῆναι—

and tallies with the evidence of Pausanias—⁸¹

τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ναυπλίᾳ λεγόμενα ἐς τὸν ὄνον, ὥς ἐπιφαγὼν ἀμπέλου
κλήμα ἀφθονώτερον ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀπέφηνε τὸν καρπὸν, καὶ ὄνος σφίσιν ἐν
πέτρᾳ πεποιημένος διὰ τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἄτε ἀμπέλων διδάξας τομὴν, παρήμι οὐκ
ἀξιόλογα ἡγούμενος.

The fertilizing powers of the ass may also be inferred from the love-charms described by Pliny (*N.H.* xxviii. 251 and 261). For the testimony of the vase-paintings see a black-figured lekythos⁸² mentioned in the *Arch. Zeit.* vol. vi. p. 286 n. Bachofen⁸³ conjectures that no. 35 (p. 24) of the *Marmorata Taurinensia* refers to the same trait. Visconti discusses⁸⁴ an inter-

⁷³ *De Nat. Deor.* ed. Osann, p. 181.

⁷⁴ Cp. Micali, *Monumenti Inediti*, tav. liv. 5.

⁷⁵ So Hygin. *Poet. Astr.* ii. 23.

⁷⁶ *Quaest. Graec.* 2.

⁷⁷ Vol. ii. col. 1129.

⁷⁸ Phaedrus iv. 1.

⁷⁹ Palladius I. xxxv. 16.

⁸⁰ Diog. Laert. VIII. ii. 60.

⁸¹ Paus. II. xxxviii. 3.

⁸² *K. K. Vasensammlung zu Wien*, No. 176.

⁸³ *Gräbersymbolik der Alten*, p. 375.

⁸⁴ *Musée Pio-Clémentin*, vol. iv. pp. 246–258, Pl. XXXIV.

esting sarcophagus-relief, which shows Prometheus making the first woman, and adding to his handiwork the characteristics of the various animals; an ass and a bull are standing by, marked ASINVS and TAVRVS: the former may well relate to the erotic propensities of the ass. Finally, it is on this aspect of the asinine nature that the entire plot of Apuleius' novel 'The Golden Ass' is based. The hero, one Lucius, is owing to the magic ointment of his mistress transformed into an ass (Bk. iii.). After passing through sundry striking adventures, he at length regains his human shape by dint of eating rose-leaves (Bk. xi.). The whole tale is, except for the famous interlude of Cupid and Psyche, a mere expansion of Lucian's story *Δούκιος ἢ Ονος*, where the hero bears the same name, undergoes the same metamorphosis, and meets with much the same adventures. Among his numerous escapades is one occasion on which he carries off a certain virgin from a band of robbers; they are recaptured, and the robbers propose to punish them by sewing up the virgin in the skin of the ass Lucius, her face alone being left visible.⁸⁵

(3) Thirdly,⁸⁶ the Midas-myth displays some touches of *Chthonic* import. The Satyr was caught by wine *mixed in a well*, which well was afterwards claimed by the people of different localities. The attendant, too, who discovered the secret, *dug a hole in the ground* and buried it there:

‘secedit, humumque
Effodit, et, domini quales aspexerit aures,
Voce refert parva terraeque innummurat haustae;
Indiciumque suae vocis tellure regesta
Obruit, et scrobibus tacitus discedit opertis.’

OVID, *Met.* xi. 185-9.

With regard to this underground affinity, it will be remembered that in the Hindoo poems the ass dwells in the darkness of a cavern or the gloom of hell. Greek mythology preserves the tradition. Aristophanes more than once mentions a certain gnome or goblin called *Ἐμπουσα*, and the scholiast on two passages⁸⁷ remarks that she is known also as *Ὀνόσκελις* or *Ὀνόκωλος*. Eustathius, commenting on *Od.* xi. 634 *μή μοι Γοργεῖην κεφαλὴν κ.τ.λ.*, makes the following statement: ‘Persephone sends a Gorgon-head to terrify men just as Hekate sends Empusa. For Empusa, they say, is a demoniacal phantom sent by Hekate, which some call *Ὀνόκωλις* and others *Ὀνόσκελις*.’ In the *Tagenistae* (*frag.* 426) Aristophanes goes so far as to identify Empusa with

⁸⁵ Similarly in Perrault's *Popular Tales* (ed. A. Lang, pp. 83-105) the princess Peau-d'Asne to escape the importunities of the king dons this strange disguise:—

‘Pour vous rendre méconnaissable
La dépouille de l'Asne est un masque admirable;
Cachez-vous bien dans cette peau,
On ne eroira jamais, tant elle est effroyable,
Qu'elle renferme rien de beau.’

⁸⁶ Again, a connecting link between the

phallic and the chthonic nature of the ass is not absent. Plutarch (*Parallela* 29) claims the authority of Aristotle for his statement that a certain misogynist *ὄνφ' ἐμίσηγετο· ἥ δὲ κατὰ χρόνον ἔτεκε κόρην εὐειδεστάτην, Ὀνόσκελιν τοῦνομα*. Cp. also the legends of Tages and Oknos mentioned below, and the quotation from the book of the Mainyo-i Khurd on page 98.

⁸⁷ *Eccles.* 1056 and *Ran.* 293.

Hekate herself. The former was wont to appear in many shapes, one of which was that of a mule and a second that of a woman.⁸⁸ Lucian, relating an adventure supposed to have befallen him on a certain small island, says: ⁸⁹ 'I then saw that the legs were not those of a woman, but the hoofs of an ass ... And she, sorely against her will, admitted that her tribe consisted of ladies of the sea called 'Ονοσκελέαι, and that they were accustomed to devour such strangers as came to their coasts.'

The Chthonian ⁹⁰ character of the ass finds further support in the legend of Tages as told by Cicero in his *de Divin.* II. xxiii. 50,—

'Tages quidam dicitur in agro Tarquiniensi, quum terra araretur, et sulcus altius esset impressus, exstitisse repente et eum affatus esse, qui arabat.'

For among other deeds this 'terrae filius' taught men to preserve their crops from blight by fastening up the skull of an Arcadian ass—

'Hinc caput Arcadici nudum cute fertur aselli
Tyrrenus fixisse Tages in limite ruris.'

COLUMELLA x. *de cult. hort.* vv. 344-5.

It is perhaps as a Chthonian animal that the ass possesses oracular powers. Aristophanes, who makes one district of Hades "Ονου Πόκας (*Frogs*, 186), mentions also ὄνον ὄρνιν (*Birds*, 721). The scholiast *ad loc.* comments:

λέγεται γάρ τι τοιοῦτον, ὡς συμβολικὸς (i.e. a soothsayer) ἐρωτώμενος περὶ ἀρρώστου εἶδεν ὄνον ἐκ πτώματος ἀναστάντα, ἀκήκοε δὲ ἐτέρου λέγοντος, βλέπε πῶς ὄνος ὦν ἀνέστη. ὁ δὲ ἔφη, ὁ νοσῶν ἀναστήσεται. καὶ ἀνέστη.

The same predictive function is recognized by Plutarch, who in his *Life of Antony* (lxv. § 2) gives the following incident:

Καίσαρι δὲ λέγεται μὲν ἔτι σκότου ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς κύκλῳ περιούντι πρὸς τὰς ναῦς ἀνθρώπος ἐλαύνων ὄνον ἀπαντῆσαι, πυθομένην δὲ τοῦνομα γνωρίσας αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν. 'Ἐμοὶ μὲν Εὐτυχὸς ὄνομα, τῷ δὲ ὄνῳ Νίκων.' Διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἐμβόλοις τὸν τόπον κοσμῶν ὕστερον ἔστησε χαλκοῦν ὄνον καὶ ἀνθρώπων.

Similarly in *frag.* xxxiii. θ (ed. Dübner, p. 50) he says of Tiberius:

'Ἀλλὰ καὶ Τιβερίῳ ὄνος...ἔτι μειρακίῳ ὄντι, καὶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ ἐπὶ λόγοις ῥητορικῶς διατρίβοντι, τὴν βασιλείαν διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παθήματος προεμήνυσεν.

⁸⁸ Aristophanes, *Frogs* 289, παντοδαπὸν γούν γίνεται· ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ βοῦς, νυνὶ δ' ὄρε ὕς, ποτὲ δ' αἰ γυνή. Bekker, *Anecd.* p. 250, l. Cp. the Testamentum Salomonis, col. 1341 A, ed. Migne, καὶ ἦλθον πρὸ προσώπου μου τριάκοντα ἑξ πνεύματα...ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ ἦσαν ἀνθρωπόμορφοι·

ὄνοπρόσωποι, βοουπρόσωποι, καὶ πτηνοπρόσωποι.

⁸⁹ *Ver. Hist.* ii. § 46.

⁹⁰ Müller-Wieseler, *Denk.* ii. No. 91b, a gem in Berlin Mus. = Demeter enthroned with torch in hand: behind her a horse (see pages 142 ff.); in front an ass or mule.

And in his *Life of Alexander* an ass which kills a favourite lion with a kick is accounted an evil omen. Such superstitions lasted on into mediaeval times. Johannes Sarisberiensis mentions the ass as a 'Wegthier,' which it is unlucky to meet.⁹¹

The most satisfactory evidence on the point is, however, the occurrence of the ass as a stock denizen of the underworld. Photius *s. v.* "Ονου πόκαι quotes Aristarchus' solution of the phrase: διὰ τὸ Κρατῖνον ὑποθέσθαι ἐν Ἀΐδου σχοινίου πλέκοντα· ὄνον δὲ τὸ πλεκόμενον ἀπεσθίοντα.⁹² The scene was painted by Polygnotus as part of his Nekuia in the Lesche at Delphi. Pausanias (X. xxix. 1-2) gives a description of it, together with a suggestion as to its meaning:

μετὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀνὴρ ἐστὶ καθήμενος, ἐπίγραμμα δὲ "Οκνον εἶναι λέγει τὸν ἄνθρωπον πεποίηται μὲν πλέκων σχοινίου, παρέστηκε δὲ θήλεια ὄνος ὑπεσθίουσα τὸ πεπλεγμένον αἰεὶ τοῦ σχοινίου· τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν "Οκνον φίλεργόν φασιν ἄνθρωπον, γυναῖκα δὲ ἔχειν δαπανηράν· καὶ ὅποσα συλλέξαιτο ἐργαζόμενος, οὐ πολλὸν ἂν ὕστερον ὑπὸ ἐκείνης ἀνήλωτο. ταῦτα οὖν ἐς τοῦ "Οκνου τὴν γυναῖκα ἐθέλουσιν αἰνέξασθαι τὸν Πολύγνωτον. οἶδα δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰώνων, ὅποτε ἰδοῖεν τινα ποιοῦντα ἐπὶ οὐδενὶ ὄντην φέρουντι, ὑπὸ τούτων εἰρημένοι, ὥς ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος συνάγει τοῦ "Οκνου τὴν θώμιγγα. ὁκνον δ' οὖν καὶ μάντεων οἱ ὀρώντες τοὺς οἰωνοὺς καλοῦσιν τινα ὄρνιθα, καὶ ἔστιν οὗτος ὁ ὁκνος μέγιστος μὲν καὶ κάλλιστος ἐρρωδιῶν, εἰ δὲ ἄλλος τις ὄρνιθων, σπάνιός ἐστι καὶ οὗτος.

Pausanias' interpretation, whatever its source may be, seems based on the phallic nature of the ass. But the reference to a particular man Oknos and the moralizing turn given to the whole indicate the invention of an age that had half-forgotten the meaning of its mythology. A safer conclusion may be reached from a consideration of the company in which Oknos and his ass are found. Baumeister reproduces⁹³ the sculptured mouth of a Roman spring, which shows Oknos plaiting his rope and the ass devouring it; behind the animal stands a Danaid with a water-pot on her head. Another illustration was published by Campana⁹⁴ in 1841 from the frieze of a Roman tomb: Oknos and his ass are here put into a division of the painting separate from, but adjacent to, that of the Danaids. A third representation⁹⁵ was found in 1832 on the frieze of a Columbarium near the Porta Latina: the Danaids are no longer visible, unless the female figure to

⁹¹ Hopf, *Thierorakel und Orakelthiere*, pp. 30, 75.

⁹² Mr. Frazer tells me that the tale 'occurs in one of the Buddhist *Jatakas*, with the substitution of a jackal for the ass (*Folklore*, i. 1890, p. 409).' This variation is not unique. De Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, vol. ii. p. 126, relates the Hindoo myth of the *jackal* who 'passes himself off as a peacock of the sky. The animals make him their king, but he be-

trays himself by his voice. . . . This is a variety of the *ass* dressed in the lion's skin.'

⁹³ *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. p. 1925, Fig. 2041: Visconti, *Musée Pie-Clémentin*, 1820, vol. iv. Pl. XXXVI.*: Bachofen, *Gräbersymbolik der Alten*, Pl. II. 2.

⁹⁴ *Due sepolcri romani*, Rome 1841, Pl. II. c and Pl. VII. b, p. 10: Bachofen, *op. cit.* Pl. III. 2.

⁹⁵ Bachofen, *op. cit.* Pl. I.

the left formed part of their group. In a fourth picture, drawn by Visconti⁹⁶ from the bas-relief on a round marble altar, Oknos twisting a rope and his ass grazing occur in company with the Danaids and their *πίθος τετρημένος*. Finally, Oknos and the ass occupy the whole scene on a wall-painting from the Columbarium of the Villa Pamfili.⁹⁷ So far all has been correct, conventional, Roman. Oknos and his ass are stereotyped figures traditionally associated with the daughters of Danaus. If an older version of the myth is extant, it must be sought among the treasures of Greek ceramic.

Now an archaic black-figured vase in the Munich Museum⁹⁸ represents four winged *εἰδῶλα καμώντων* emptying pitchers into an enormous jar sunk in the earth. Their characteristics as Danaids are at a minimum, and—were it not for the statements of later mythographers—they would have been compared to the souls of the departed as shown on the Greek funeral jars. The explanation thus hinted at is confirmed by a *lekkythos*⁹⁹ found in a grave near Monte Saraceno, and now in the Museum at Palermo. This most instructive picture is apparently conceived in a spirit of caricature: it represents men and women hastening in comic attitudes to empty amphorae into a huge vessel. The vessel disappears behind the figure of an ass, which is kicking lustily as one of the male water-bearers plucks its tail. In front of the ass sits a man looking in a distressed way at four lines—possibly strands of a rope.¹⁰⁰ Here at least it is evident that the water-carriers are not Danaids, or not Danaids alone. They recall Pausanias' description (X. xxxi. 9-11) of the figures at Delphi:—

αἱ δὲ...φέρουσαι μὲν εἰσιν ὕδωρ ἐν κατεαγόσιν ὀστράκοις· πεποιήται δὲ ἡ μὲν ἔτι ὥραία τὸ εἶδος, ἡ δὲ ἡδὴ τῆς ἡλικίας προήκουσα· ἰδίᾳ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἐν κοινῷ δὲ ἔστιν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέραις εἶναι σφᾶς τῶν οὐ μεμνημένων.....ἔστι δὲ καὶ πίθος ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, πρσβύτης δὲ ἀνθρωπος, ὁ δὲ ἔτι παῖς, καὶ γυναῖκες, νέα μὲν ὑπὸ τῇ

⁹⁶ *Musée Pic-Clém.* vol. iv. pp. 264 ff., Pl. XXXVI.

⁹⁷ Jahn, *Columb. Pamf.* p. 245; *Sächs. Ber.* 1856, p. 267, Pl. II., III. Bachofen, *op. cit.* Pl. II. 4; III. 1. The last writer discusses all five designs and gives a valuable collection of literary ref. He omits to represent Visconti's altar: it appears, however, on a reduced scale in Smith, *Sm. Classical Dict.* s.v. Danaus, p. 137, without the figure of Oknos.

A mural painting from Ostia, now in the Lateran Museum, shows Oknos and his ass together with Pluton, Orpheus and Eurydice, etc.—the Danaids being apparently absent (*Mon. dell' Inst.* 1866, vol. viii. pl. 28, 1). The design is, however, somewhat fragmentary, and their absence cannot be proved.

⁹⁸ Inghirami, *Vasi fittili*, ii. 135: Panofka, *Mus. Blacas*, Pl. IX.: Baumeister, *Denkmäler*,

vol. iii. p. 1924, Fig. 2040: Rosch. *Lex.* col. 950.

⁹⁹ *Arch. Zeit.* 1870, vol. xxviii. pp. 42 ff. pl. 31.

¹⁰⁰ Personally I do not feel at all sure that the common interpretation of these four lines is correct. I surmise that Oknos is looking in this distracted fashion at *a stream* (? the *ποταμός* of Paus. X. xxviii. 1) flowing past—'rusticus exspectat'—and that we have here an earlier and most interesting variant of the legend. The parallelism between Oknos and the Danaids indicated below would then be more complete than ever. At the same time I cannot follow the view first put forward, I believe, by Dr. Waldstein that OKNOC = OK[EA]NOC, the EA having been accidentally obliterated in some work of art.

πέτρα, παρὰ δὲ τὸν πρεσβύτην εἰκὺία ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἡλικίαν· οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι φέροντες ὕδωρ ἔτι, τῇ δὲ γρατὶ κατεᾶχθαι τὴν ὑδρίαν εἰκάσεις· ὅσον δὲ ἐν τῷ ὀστράκῳ λοιπὸν ἦν τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐκχέουσά ἐστιν αὖθις ἐς τὸν πίθον. ἔτεκμαιρόμεθα δ' εἶναι καὶ τούτους τῶν τὰ δρώμενα Ἑλευσίνι ἐν οὐδενὸς θεμέων λογάφ· οἱ γὰρ ἀρχαιότεροι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τελετὴν τὴν Ἑλευσινίαν πάντων, ὅποσα ἐς εὐσέβειαν ἤκει, τοσοῦτ' ἤγον ἐντιμότερον, ὅσφ' καὶ θεοὺς ἐπὶπροσθεν ἡρώων.

With which agrees Plato's account in the *Gorgias*, 493 A, B:—

οὗτοι ἀθλιώτατοι ἂν εἶεν οἱ ἀμύητοι καὶ φοροῖεν εἰς τὸν τετρημένον πίθον ὕδωρ ἑτέρῳ τοιούτῳ τετρημένῳ κοσκίνῳ.

In short, it seems highly probable that the Danaid myth originated in the belief that those who did not take part in a certain mystic ὑδροφορία on earth would hereafter be condemned to it as a perpetual punishment.

But—it may be asked—what has all this to do with the ass? How is it that Oknos and his beast are associated with these λουτροφόροι? Two answers to this question suggest themselves. On the one hand the water-bearers of the lower world are probably engaged in the λουτροφόρος χλιδή of Euripides *Phoen.* 348, the well-known marriage ceremony, which they have neglected during their lifetime: and we have already seen the ass symbolizing sexual relations. That a phallic animal should appear in such company is surely more than a mere coincidence.

On the other hand the ass was traditionally connected with water in general, and the water of the underworld in particular. How that connection arose we have no means of determining. It may have been strengthened by the employment of the ass as a water-carrier;¹⁰¹ and by the observation that it commonly avoids treading in water,¹⁰² being, as Aristotle says,¹⁰³ ψυχρὸν ζῶον...δύσριγον τὴν φύσιν. At any rate it is certain that Hellenic superstition did associate the ass with water.¹⁰⁴ Plutarch¹⁰⁵ seeks to explain the alleged

¹⁰¹ Athen. 456E—457A.

¹⁰² Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 169. 'Si rivus minimus intersit, horrent ita ut pedes omnino caveant tingere. nec nisi assuetos potant fontes, quae sunt in pectuariis, atque ita ut siccō tramite ad potum eant, nec pontes transeunt, per raritatem eorum translucentibus fluvii. mirumque dictu, sitiunt: et si immutentur aquae, ut bibant cogendae exorandae sunt.' Cp. the *ἄνοι ἄποτοι* οὐ γὰρ δὴ πίνουσι of Herodot. iv. 192.

¹⁰³ *de an. gen.* B 748a 23.

¹⁰⁴ So in the mythology of other Aryan peoples. Prof. A. A. Bevan tells me that in the Book of the Mainyo-i-Khard, a Persian catechism of about the sixth century A.D. (ed. West, ch. lxii. 6, 26–27), 'The Sage asked the Spirit of Wisdom . . . where stands the ass of three feet? . . . The ass of three feet stands in the midst of the sea of Varkash; and water of

every kind, which rains on a corpse, and the menstrual discharge, and the remaining corruption and putridity, when it arrives at the ass of three feet, with watchfulness he makes every kind clean and pure.' This 'Khar i se pâê' (three-legged, i.e. lame, ass) is further described in the Bundeshesh (xliv. 4—xlv. 19 = ch. xix. of Ferdinand Justi's trans.) which observes that, among other peculiarities, the three-legged ass has a horn of gold wherewith he demolishes the animosity of all evil monsters. In the Zendic Yaçna, xli. 28, 'by braying he terrifies the monsters and prevents them from contaminating the water' (De Gub. *op. cit.* i. 379: ed. Spiegel, p. 169). Again, the Kharmâhi (Ass-fish) is 'the chief of water creatures and fish, ten of whom . . . swim around the Hûm tree' (Mainyo-i-Khard, ed. West, p. 124).

¹⁰⁵ *Symp.* iv. Quaest. 5, ii. § 10.

Jewish worship of the ass by saying: τὸν ὄνον ἀποφύγαντα πηγὴν αὐτοῖς ὕδατος τιμῶσιν. And Tacitus¹⁰⁶ expands the same idea: 'Nihil aeque (Iudaeos in deserto) quam inopia aquae fatigabat. Iamque haud procul exitio totis campis procubuerant, cum grex asinorum agrestium e pastu in rupem, nemore opacam, concessit. Secutus Moses coniectura herbidi soli largas aquarum venas aperit....Effigiem animalis, quo monstrante, errorem sitimque depulerant, penetrati sacravere.' Aelian¹⁰⁷ relates the fable—belonging to the Promethean cycle—of the ass, which desires to drink at a snake-guarded fountain and pacifies its protector by means of a φάρμακον γήρως ἀμυντήριον. It was indeed customary among the Greeks to have drinking-vessels shaped like an ass's head.¹⁰⁸ In the second Vase-room of the British Museum¹⁰⁹ is an archaic Kantharos, the form of which is merged in that of an ass's or mule's head; it is decorated with a painting of Dionysus astride a mule, attended by Satyrs and Maenads. This seems the prototype of the later forms.¹¹⁰ In the third Vase-room¹¹¹ is a fine sample of the rhyton shaped like the head of an ass or mule. And in Vase-room four is a similar, though poorer, specimen adorned not inappropriately with a figure of Eros.

But especially was the ass connected with *underground* waters. I have already alluded to the well of king Midas and to the orifice of a Roman spring. References of a more directly Chthonian character are to hand. Aelian¹¹² states that—

ἐν τῇ Σκυθίᾳ γῇ γίνονται ὄνοι κερασφόροι, καὶ στέγει τὰ κέρατα ἐκεῖνα τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν τὸ καλούμενον τῆς Στυγός, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀγγεῖα διακόπτει πάντα, κἂν ᾗ σιδήρου πεποιημένα.

Sopater, he says, brought one of these horns to Alexander of Macedon, who dedicated it to the Delphian Apollo¹¹³ with the legend:

σοὶ τόδ' Ἀλέξανδρος Μακεδὼν κέρας ἄνθετο, Παιάν,
κάνθωνος Σκυθικοῦ, χρῆμά τι δαιμόνιον,
ὃ Στυγὸς ἀχράντῳ Λουσηίδος οὐκ ἔδαμάσθη
ρεύματι, βάσταξεν δ' ὕδατος ἠγορέην.

Philostratos¹¹⁴ tells a somewhat similar tale about the horned ass of India. And Plutarch¹¹⁵ has a variant that is free from such geographical restrictions:

τὸ περὶ Ταίναρον, ὃ δὲ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ καλοῦσιν, ἐκ πέτρας γλίσχρως συλλεμβόμενον οὕτω ψυχρόν ἐστιν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἀγγεῖον

¹⁰⁶ *Hist.* V. iii. 3, 4: cp. Tertullian, *Apologet.* cap. 16.

¹⁰⁷ *de Nat. An.* vi. 51.

¹⁰⁸ Probably this is the meaning of the ὄνος . . . οἶνον μεστός mentioned in Arist. *Wasps*, 616.

¹⁰⁹ Case 22, B 378.

¹¹⁰ *E.g.* Inghirami, *Vasi Fittili*, vol. ii. Pl.

CXVIII., and the further exx. cited in the *Compte-Rendu* for 1863, p. 241, n. 8.

¹¹¹ Case 42.

¹¹² *de Nat. Anim.* x. 40.

¹¹³ Cp. *suprà* the sacrifice of asses to the Delphian Apollo.

¹¹⁴ *Vit. Apoll.* III. ii. 1.

¹¹⁵ *de primo frigido*, xx. 3.

ἄλλο, μόνην δὲ ὁ πλὴν ὄνου στέγειν· τὰ δ' ἄλλα διακόπτει καὶ ῥήγνυσιν.

Admitting, then, the close connection between the ass and the water of the underworld,¹¹⁶ we can see a further reason why Oknos and his beast should be always found associated with the 'Danaids' and their punishment. *The two stories are but different modes of expressing the same idea.* Those who on earth have deferred (ὀκνεῖν) initiation into the mysteries of a certain hydrophoria, οἱ οὐ μεμνημένοι, are after death condemned to be ever pouring their jars into a well that is never satisfied. In symbolic language, Procrastination ("Οκνος) must constantly feed the Ass of the nether waters. But why feed him in this peculiar fashion? Why make him swallow a rope for all eternity? Not, I think, because the rope signifies the endless generations of men;¹¹⁷ nor because the μυθοποιός has misread the μυθογράφος;¹¹⁸ but for the simple reason that the ass denotes the well, and that when the bucket is lowered into it, the ass is said to swallow the rope.¹¹⁹

Having completed this survey of the symbolic meanings attached by the Greeks to the figure of the ass, we are now in a position to settle the significance of the fresco from Mycenae. We have seen the ass on Greek soil (1) as a musician, (2) as a servant of the harvest-gods with phallic aptitudes, and (3) as representing the waters of the underworld. To which of these aspects can we refer the Mycenaean figures?

Topographical considerations suggest the last. Mycenae is about twenty miles from Lake Stymphalus, and thirty from Pheneos where¹²⁰ the Στυγὸς ὕδωρ took its rise. Plutarch's legend that this water could only be held by a ὀπλὴ ὄνου accords well with the ὑδροφορία represented on the Berlin haematite (p. 84), Helbig's 'pezzo oblongo di metallo' (*Bull.* 1875, p. 41), which shows an ass-figure in the act of carrying a sacred vessel: it also explains the bowl found near the fresco on the citadel. To determine the exact nature of the ceremony is at present impossible in view of our limited data. But the fact that the ὑδροφορία at which Oknos and his beast assisted was almost

¹¹⁶ Miss J. E. Harrison, *Myths of the Odyssey*, p. 90, Pl. XXVI.a, gives a Roman design from the tomb of Quintus Naso on the Via Flaminia, representing Hades, in which 'one soul in the form of an ass is drinking the waters of Lethe.' This has, however, been interpreted as a metempsychosis-scene.

¹¹⁷ As Bachofen, *op cit.*, suggests.

¹¹⁸ Miss Harrison, in lecturing on Greek vase-painting at Cambridge some years ago, suggested that the rope was originally used by Oknos to drag the ass after him, the notion about the ass swallowing it being a mere misunderstanding. I suspect that this explanation of myth-making by means of graphic misinterpretation is being carried too far.

¹¹⁹ As a possible survival of this primitive belief, I would call attention to the design on an ass-head rhyton in the British Museum (Vase-room III., case 42, no. E 477), mentioned above. It is a fine specimen of polychrome Hellenic pottery, belonging to the best period (B.C. 440-330). On the upper part of the animal's head are painted two draped figures: the one holds a rope, and behind the other is a well-pulley. If, as seems probable, the designs on these rhytons may have reference to their animal shape, it would appear that on this vase we have a reminiscence of the ass in its character as a well-daemon.

¹²⁰ Aelian, *de Nat. Anim.* x. 40.

certainly a bridal rite raises a presumption that the action of the Mycenaean asses had a kindred significance.

Again, the *ὄνοι κερασφόροι* of Aelian (p. 99) and Philostratos, and the golden horn of the three-legged ass in the Bundelesh (p. 98, n. 104), remind us that in the Mycenaean painting there is an excrescence between the ears of the asinine heads,¹²¹—and serve to strengthen our case, inasmuch as the horned ass is everywhere associated with the nether waters.

Another point in the picture becomes clear when viewed in this connection. Over the shoulders of the asinine figures passes a twisted rope, which they are grasping with their right hands. Archaeologists, misled by the analogy of the *ἀνάφορον*, have called this 'a pole used to carry the spoils of the chase';¹²² but the markings clearly indicate a rope. It may perhaps be a representation of the well-rope, the *ἱμονιά* of the later¹²³ Greeks, which would naturally enter into any ritual connected with a well. Whether the rite here enacted had reference to the celebrated spring at Mycenae, known as Perseia,¹²⁴ must remain uncertain. I should, however, point out that it very possibly gave rise to the *κόρδαξ* dance of after times. The passages descriptive of that dance are collected by Blaydes on Aristophanes' *Clouds*, 537. I notice four points of resemblance between it and the fresco in dispute:—

(i.) The figures on the stucco are wearing masks: and Theophrastus¹²⁵ condemns the man who can *ὀρχεῖσθαι νήφων τὸν κόρδακα καὶ προσωπεῖον μὴ ἔχων ἐν κωμικῷ χορῷ*.

(ii.) The rope plays a prominent part in both. The Mycenaean rite corresponds in some sort to an Egyptian custom described by Diodorus Siculus (i. 97):

ἐν μὲν γὰρ Ἀκανθῶν πόλει...πίθον εἶναι τετρημένον, εἰς ὃν τῶν ἱερέων ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὕδωρ φέρειν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου. τὴν τε περὶ τὸν Ὀκνον μυθοποιίαν δείκνυσθαι πλησίον κατὰ τινα πανήγυριν συντελουμένην, πλέκοντος μὲν ἐνδὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀρχὴν σχοινίου μακράν, πολλῶν δ' ἐκ τῶν ὀπίσω λύντων τὸ πλεκόμενον.

And Harles (ed. *Ar. Nub.* p. 101) describes the *κόρδαξ* as 'Saltatio...in qua praesultor ductitabat restim (hinc εἴλκυσεν dixit Comicus¹²⁶), et reliqui eum sequebantur tenentes manibus eandem restim.' Terence (*Adelphi*, IV. vii. 34)

¹²¹ A similar excrescence occurs on the ass-head rhytons in the British Museum. It is, I think, merely—as M. Tsountas suggested—'a tassel of the creature's hair': the special sanctity assigned to it will be explained later (page 122f.).

¹²² Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* p. 292: cp. Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. vi. p. 885, 'une longue *perche*.' Since writing the above I find that M. Paul Girard, in his book *La Peinture Antique* (p. 99), published the year

before last, also takes this to be a rope.

¹²³ Herondas v. 11, *τὴν ἱμανήθηρην τοῦ κάδου*. Mr. Carr Bosanquet compares Benndorf and Niemann's *Heroon von Gjölbasschi-Trysa*, pt. i. Figg. 115, 117.

¹²⁴ Paus. II. xvi. 6. See the *Jahrbuch des k. d. Arch. Inst.* for 1891, vol. vi. p. 72 (Anzeiger).

¹²⁵ ed. Jebb, *char.* xvi.

¹²⁶ Arist. *Nub.* 537 *ὥς δὲ σώφρων ἐστὶ φύσει σκέψασθ' ἥ τις . . . οὐδὲ κόρδαχ' εἴλκυσεν*.

has 'Tu inter eas restim ductans saltabis'; and Petr. *Frag. Trag.* p. 35 'Cordacem melius nemo ducit.'

(iii.) Prof. Percy Gardner¹²⁷ observes: 'The ancients regarded the dance *cordax* as imported into Greece from Phrygia by Pelops.' Now the ass-king was according to the legend (p. 87) forefather of the Phrygians: and that Phrygian influence in general was strong at Mycenae is abundantly manifest.

(iv.) Both the cordax-dance and the Mycenaean mummery appear to partake of a religious and perhaps phallic character. The upright pose and lolling tongues of the asses on the fresco are aptly described by the ὕβρις ὀρθία κνωδάλων in which Apollo delights. And an inscription¹²⁸ has been found within the walls of Apollo's temple at Minoa, which mentions κόρδακες in honour of that god.¹²⁹

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ] οἱ | [κορδακι]στα[ι | τῶν περ]ὶ τὸν Πύθι- | [ον] Ἀπόλλωνα
κορ- | δάκων | [Πρότ]ειμον δ, θέσει δὲ | [...ο]υ, φιλοσέβα- | στον, τὸν ἑαυτῶν
εὖ- | [εργέτην], χορηγήσαν- | [τα].....

A detail that still calls for explanation is the fact that on two at least of the Island stones *the ass-figures have the legs of lions*. This combination will however, become more intelligible when we have discussed the nature of the leonine cult (see p. 119f.). For the present I merely note that it is by no means unique, and will be found to support that connection between the ass and the water of the underworld, which is illustrated by both the fresco and the gems.

This much at least we may claim to have rendered probable: that on the citadel of Mycenae and also in the island of Crete there existed in pre-Homeric times the cult of a Chthonian deity—a well-spirit—conceived as embodied in the form of an ass. The devotees of this deity were wont to dress themselves in artificial masks and skins, thereby symbolizing their relationship to him.¹³⁰ Their ritual involved on the one hand a mystic hydrophoria—perhaps a marriage custom—and on the other a ceremonial rope-dance.¹³¹

¹²⁷ *New Chapters in Greek History*, p. 82. Cp. the Delphin Terence, vol. ii. p. 765 n. :— 'Lusus est natus, ut refert Donatus, ab eo fune, quo equus ligneus Graecorum in Troiam introductus est.'

¹²⁸ Boeckh, *C.I.G.* vol. ii. p. 1035, No. 2264, o.

¹²⁹ With this we should compare the Ἀρτεμὶς Κορδάκα at Elis (Paus. VI. xxii. 1). The adoption of such a rope-dance by these deities may be explained by the principle of 'contaminatio,' though Artemis at least has distinct claims to

be considered as a 'Quell- und Fluss-göttin' (Roscher, *Lex. coll.* 559—561).

¹³⁰ 'The ordinary meaning of skin-wearing in early religion is to simulate identification with the animal whose skin is worn.' Prof. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, p. 454.

¹³¹ Another Cretan rope-dance connected with animal worship may underlie the legend of the Minotaur. Benndorf supposes that the famous 'clue' was the rope used in the χορός of Ariadne (*Il.* xviii. 590).

II.—THE CULT OF THE LION.

αὕτη δίπους λέαινα.

AESCH. *Agam.* 1258.

In the preceding section I have dealt with a figure that appears comparatively seldom in the art-remains of the Mycenaean epoch. Far more frequent is the representation of a fiercer animal, the lion; so frequent indeed that one cannot help suspecting the existence of some symbolical association to account for its constant recurrence. But here caution is needed. For most nations in their earliest artistic efforts have shown a taste and a talent for animal life: and it is certain that down to quite classical times lions survived in the more desolate parts of the Greek peninsula. Pausanias¹³² speaks of them as still to be found in Thrace. Herodotus¹³³ mentions them in Macedonia; Aristotle,¹³⁴ in the region lying between the rivers Achelous and Nessus. At a remote date they must have been more widely distributed—witness the legends of formidable lions at Megara, Nemea, and Mount Olympus. Again, the history of Greek Archaeology should warn us that esoteric meaning is not to be imported into scenes of a simple and natural character unless circumstances not only justify but render strictly necessary such procedure. Nevertheless it may fairly be doubted whether—even as early as B.C. 1400—the lion was sufficiently common in Greece and the Archipelago to warrant its persistent use as a motive for all decorative purposes. And the conjecture of an underlying religious cause rises into certainty when we consider some clearer claims to symbolism, which have recently come to light.

In the first rank of importance must be placed the fragments of a bronze bowl, brought by Cesnola from Cyprus, and now in the New York Museum. They comprise a rim and two handles attached to it, all being neatly decorated with *repoussé* designs. Round the rim runs a row of oxen, apparently pursued by a lion. On each handle are three *βουκράνια*, and above them six lion-like figures arranged in pairs. These figures stand upright facing one another in heraldic fashion (Fig. 5): they bear in their hands pitchers, and seem to be wearing a kind of ornamental back-covering or cloak, which at once recalls the garb of the Mycenaean asses.

It has been held by M. Perrot¹³⁵ that 'ce sont des lions, mais qui portent sur le dos une peau de poisson, comme le dieu assyrien Anou. . . . On

¹³² Paus. VI. v. 4.

¹³³ Herodot. vii. 125, *πορευομένων δὲ ταύτη, λέοντες οἱ ἐπεθήκαντο κ.τ.λ.* This is confirmed by the type of the coins of Akanthos—a lion devouring a long-horned bull. See Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 182.

¹³⁴ Arist. *Hist. An.* 579b 7, and 606b 14, *ἔτι δὲ λέοντες μὲν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ μάλλον, καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τόπῳ τοῦ Ἀχελέου καὶ Νέσσου.* The statement is transcribed by Pliny *N. H.* viii. 45.

¹³⁵ *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. iii. p. 794.

dirait, à leur attitude, qu'ils remplissent une fonction religieuse.' Similarly M. E. Babelon¹³⁶ says: 'ce sont des lions, debout sur leurs pattes de derrière, tenant des cœnochoés, et vêtus d'une peau de poisson, comme le dieu Anou dans la symbolique assyro-chaldéenne.' But, though it is known that worshippers of the god Dagon or Anou used to robe themselves in the skins of fish,¹³⁷ I am unable to adopt this explanation of the Cyprian figures. For, in the first place, Anou's worshippers wore not only the skin, but also the head of a fish, as may be seen from any manual¹³⁸ of Eastern antiquities. And, in the second place, there is no very obvious connection between a fish and a lion.

Rejecting therefore the theory that the curious coat in which these creatures are dressed was intended for a fish-skin, I would again suggest that we have here worshippers of the lion clad in the skin and called by the name of the animal which they worshipped.



FIG. 5.

This suggestion will probably be criticized on two heads. It may, on the one hand, be urged that the coat in question does not resemble the shaggy hide of a lion any more than it resembles the scaly skin of a fish. But I maintain that it is quite conceivable for an artificial lion-skin to have been represented in this conventional manner. The first step towards it is seen on a very archaic fragment from Mycenae, now in the British Museum, which 'appears to have been part of a triangular relief filling the space above a doorway.'¹³⁹ It shows the head and shoulders of a lion

¹³⁶ *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale*, p. 308.

¹³⁷ See Menant, *Glyptique Orientale*, vol. ii. p. 63 ff.: *The Religion of the Semites*, pp. 274, 416. Philostrat. *Vit. Ap.* iii. 55 φασί δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἰχθυοφάγοις ἐντυχεῖν, οἷς πόλιν εἶναι Στόβηρα, διφθέρας δὲ τούτους ἐνῆφθαι μεγίστων ἰχθύων perhaps refers to the same custom. In Greek mythology Ichthys was son of the

Syrian queen-goddess Atargatis: see Roscher, *Lex.* col. 94 s.v. Ichthys.

¹³⁸ E.g. Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.* vol. ii. figs. 9 and 224.

¹³⁹ *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture in the Brit. Mus.* 1892, by A. H. Smith, p. 15: Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. vi. p. 646, fig. 291.

standing upright on its hind legs. Upon the hide of the beast are still visible the engraved lines which marked out a quadrifoil pattern, and were doubtless originally filled in with colour. Later art sometimes adorned the lion's skin with similar spots. On a vase by Sosias, for example, it is marked like a panther's hide.¹⁴⁰ Another instance of the same process of conventional metabolism is afforded by Athena's aegis, which—though it began as a mere goat-skin—came to be portrayed with fish-scales of silver. So too Plutarch¹⁴¹ considers the Jewish High Priest a devotee of Dionysus because he was *νεβρίδα χρυσόπαστον ἐνημμένος*. There was in fact a decided tendency among the Greeks to embellish the simple garb of skin. And this tendency was strong in Mycenaean times. Two terra-cotta oxen from Ialysus, presented by Prof. Ruskin to the British Museum, are painted with zebra-stripes. The same collection¹⁴² contains early Athenian models of a horse and a dog decorated with parallel bands of colour. Even the human skin, to judge from a fragment of vase-painting found at Tiryns, was not free from a similar tattoo adornment.¹⁴³

On the other hand it may be objected that what we have here is not a *worshipper* dressed in a lion's skin but a *lion* dressed in a lion's skin, which is—as Prof. Robertson Smith remarks—much like 'gilding gold.' To this I would answer that the worshippers, as we shall afterwards see, were themselves called *λέοντες*; and that consequently the artist symbolized them as actual lions, while yet—in order to distinguish them from merely natural lions—he retained their sacrificial garb and ritual act.

The first part of this argument may be established by a couple of analogous instances. A Greek stele published by Le Bas¹⁴⁴ has a fine bas-relief of a lion, bearing the legend ΛΕΩΝ ΣΙΝΩΠΕΥΣ. And Pausanias (I. xxiii. 1) narrates that on the Athenian Akropolis was a bronze lioness erected to the memory of a certain woman, Leaina by name. Now if a man called *Leon* and a woman called *Leaina* were represented as actual lion and lioness, worshippers called *Leontes* might very possibly be portrayed in similar fashion.

My further contention that the artist added the ceremonial cloaks and vessels in order to differentiate these worshippers from ordinary lions is less easy to prove. A case in point, however, is the *πρόβατον κωδίφ ἐσκεπασ-*

¹⁴⁰ Müller-Wieseler, *Denkm.* i. 210. Cp. Otto Keller, *Thiere des Classischen Alterthums*, p. 397.

¹⁴¹ *Symp.* 672A.

¹⁴² Vase-room I. case 12.

¹⁴³ Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* p. 132. Cp. the tattoo-marks on the arms of the colossus of Amathus now in the Imperial Mus. at Constantinople: Perrot and Chipiez, *Phoenicia and its Dependencies*, vol. ii. p. 165, fig. 110.

¹⁴⁴ *Voyage Archéologique*, vol. i. pl. 78. Cp. also Herodot. vii. 180 *ἐσφαξαν τὸν εἶλεν τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον καὶ κάλλιστον. τῷ δὲ σφαγιασ-*

θέντι τούτῳ ὄνομα ἦν Λέων· τάχα δ' ἂν τι καὶ τοῦ οὐνόματος ἐπαύροιτο. Lenormant and De Witte, *Élite des Monuments*, vol. i. p. 226, suggest that the lion on the tomb of the courtesan *Lais* (Paus. II. ii. 4) was intended to preserve her name (quasi *λῆς, λέαινα*). In the legend of St. Marcellus—'A *lion* having appeared to the saint in a vision as killing a serpent, this appearance was considered as a presage of good fortune to the enterprise of the Emperor *Leo* in Africa' (De Gubernatis, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 159).

μένον which, according to Joannes Lydus (*de mens.* iv. 45), was sacrificed to the Cyprian Aphrodite. I take it that *the sheep* dressed in the sheep-skin was the substitution of a later age for *a man called a 'sheep'* and dressed in a sheep-skin. Such substitutions for human sacrifice¹⁴⁵ are not unknown on Greek soil. Pausanias (IX. viii. 2) preserves the tradition that 'at Potniae in Boeotia it had formerly been the custom to sacrifice to the goat-smiting Dionysus a child, for whom a goat was afterwards substituted.'¹⁴⁶ And a similar practice seems to underlie the legend of Iphigeneia at Aulis.¹⁴⁷ Now if a man called a 'sheep' and dressed in a sheep-skin was thus replaced by an actual sheep in the old sacrificial fleece, the leonine worshippers at their ritual observance may well have been depicted as we see them on Cesnola's bowl. I would also draw attention to the fact that the sheep-cult in question prevailed, according to Lydus, in Cyprus; and it was from Cyprus that Cesnola brought the lion-bowl: so that the comparison here instituted between the two is not without some geographical warrant.



FIG. 6.



FIG. 7.



FIG. 8.



FIG. 9.

I shall again seek support for my interpretation among the extant examples of the Island gems. The *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική* for 1889¹⁴⁸ published a couple of stones found in the Vapheio tomb near Amyclae. One of these (Fig. 6) is a lenticular agate representing, according to the account of M. Tsountas, 'two lions standing upright on either side of a tree. Each

¹⁴⁵ Why a human victim called by the name of the sacred animal should have been sacrificed rather than the sacred animal itself, is not clear. As regards the lion-cult an obvious explanation would be that the lion is an animal not readily to be obtained: but this of course will not apply to the sheep, the goat, or the stag. Prof. A. A. Bevan's suggestion that in the text of Lydus we should read *προβάτου κωδίῳ ἐσκεπασμένον συνέθνον* (they sacrificed a man clothed in a fleece) leaves this difficulty untouched. And Prof. Robertson Smith's correction *ἐσκεπασμένοι*, the participle describing the worshippers,—though it gives good sense and accords with known custom (*The Religion of the Semites*, p. 450 ff.),—introduces grammatical difficulties: the singular *κωδίῳ* for the plural *κωδίοις* would be unusual, and the transcriber's alteration of *ἐσκεπασμένοι* to *ἐσκεπασ-*

μένον unexplained if not inexplicable. On the whole I incline to keep the MS. text as sound, and to suppose that the human victim called by the animal name was sacrificed to the animal god in order to cement a supposed relationship between the god and the worshippers. Somewhat similar is the sacrifice of the human *ἐλαφος* (described on p. 137) to the wolf-god, though in that case there is no question of relationship.

¹⁴⁶ *The Golden Bough*, vol. i. p. 329.

¹⁴⁷ See the vase-painting described on p. 135; and *The Religion of the Semites*, p. 390—'The annual victim at Laodicea ad Mare was a stag, but the story was that in former times a maiden was sacrificed.'

¹⁴⁸ Pl. 10, Nos. 35-6: Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. vi. p. 843, fig. 426, 16, and p. 847, fig. 431, 6.

lion holds aloft a ewer (πρόχους) with both forepaws, wearing a girdle about his loins and an ornamental hide over his back. The tree is a palm-tree, and seems to grow from a vessel placed on a plinth; the only analogy to it that I know in the circle of Mycenaean remains is the silver cup described in the *Mittheil. des Inst. Athen.* for 1883, pl. I. These representations must have some mythological meaning. The two lions holding their vessels above a tree may be most plausibly interpreted as δαίμονες τῶν ὑδάτων.' In addition to M. Tsountas' remarks I may point out that the skin coat worn by these figures terminates in a crest between the ears similar to that which we noticed on the asses' fresco at Mycenae and on Lajard's chalcedony (p. 84).¹⁴⁹ The second Vapheio gem (Fig. 7) is a glandular sardonyx showing a single lion of like aspect.¹⁵⁰ He stands upright bearing a vase in his paws and clad in a coat of shaggy skin. The girdle is here not very clearly distinguished; nor has the engraver marked the two crescent-shaped lines under the jaw, which I take to indicate both in the Mycenae fresco and on the first Vapheio stone the fact that the head was only a mask; further, the small curly line on the shoulder, noticeable on the last gem,¹⁵¹ is absent in this case. With respect to the watering of a sacred palm-tree, I observe that a gold ring from the same tomb portrays what is apparently an incident from tree-ritual.¹⁵² On the left grows a palm-tree from some large vessel. A man wearing nothing but a girdle approaches it in an attitude of adoration. Behind him dances a woman; and lastly, a large shield with the man's raiment (?) occupies the right hand side of the picture. Again, Milchhöfer as early as 1883 was able to cite¹⁵³ a conical steatite from Cyprus, now in the Berlin Museum, which—coming from the same island as Cesnola's lions—reproduces the same design (Fig. 8). For, though Milchhöfer in his *φιλιππία* assumed that it depicted the horse, the leonine mane is unmistakable and conclusive. The hide is covered as before with a decorative pattern. It is probable too that the verde antico gem from Salonica,¹⁵⁴ also in the Berlin Museum, represents once more a man dressed in a lion's skin with a dead ox slung across his shoulder (Fig. 9). Different again is the pose of a leonine figure on a carnelian found at Athens, which seems to represent an animal dance (see p. 116). In brief, we have found the lion appearing in the same three postures as the ass: bearing a slaughtered beast; presenting a ewer; and taking part in a mimetic dance.

From the foregoing evidence I gather that in the Mycenaean age there still existed an actual lion-cult in which the worshipper, 'aptans

¹⁴⁹ A coin of the gens Caecilia, figured in Morell's *Thesaurus Num.* Tab. iii. 1, shows a lion-headed goddess between whose ears there is a similar excrescence.

¹⁵⁰ 'Le lion, sur ces intailles, ressemble souvent au chien ou au renard.' M. Reinach, *Esquisses Archéologiques*, p. 117.

¹⁵¹ Cp. the shoulder of the water-bearing ass on p. 84.

¹⁵² 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1889, Pl. 10, No. 39: Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. vi. p. 844, 'une scène d'un culte orgiaque.' Cp. a vase from Phaleron discussed by M. Louis Couve in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* for 1893, p. 25 ff. Pl. III.

¹⁵³ *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 68, fig. 46b.

¹⁵⁴ Milchhöfer, *op. cit.* p. 55, fig. 44d.

humero capitiq. leonem,' performed various ceremonial rites.¹⁵⁵ Apart from the mere offering of animal victims, he seems to have carried a sacred vessel, and—in one case—watered a sacred tree. It is at least clear that both water and palm-tree were connected with his cult. To elucidate that connection we must examine the traces of lion-worship which survived the Dorian invasion.

(1) In the first place it will be remembered that the lion appears repeatedly as the symbol of Dionysus—a god of vegetation. The seventh Homeric hymn tells the tale of Διόνυσος ἐρίβρομος who was captured by pirates: ὁ δ' ἄρα σφι λέων γένετ' ἐνδοθι νηός,—while the vessel was filled with spreading vine-leaves and clambering ivy. To him the chorus in Euripides (*Bacchae* 1017) pray:—

φάνθηι ταῦρος ἢ πολύκρανος ἰδεῖν δράκων
ἢ πυριφλέγων ὀράσθαι λέων.

And Agave when she returns with the head of Pentheus fancies in her madness that she holds an ἄγραν λεοντοφνῶ (*Bacchae* 1196):—

ΚΑ. τίνος πρόσωπον δῆτ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις ἔχεις;
ΑΓ. λέοντος, ὧς γ' ἔφασκον αἱ θηρώμεναι.

Ibid. 1278—9.

Nonnos (*Dion.* i. 19) declares with reference to the same god:—

εἰ δὲ λέων φρίξειεν, ἐπαυχενίην τρίχα σείων,
Βάκχον ἀνευάζω, βλοσυρῆς ἐπὶ πήχεϊ 'Ρεῖης
μαζὸν ὑποκλέπτοντα λεοντοβότοιο θαΐνης.

And Horace (*Od.* ii. 19, 23) adds by way of eulogy:—

'Rhoetum retorsisti *leonis*
Unguibus horribilique mala.'

Bentley's objection to the last line misses the point altogether: 'Nihil verba haec vetant, quin verum Leonem intelligas; quales cum Tigridibus et Pardis multos in comitatu habere solitus est Bacchus.' It is true enough that lions regularly take part in Dionysiac processions.¹⁵⁶ But they do so because Dionysus was himself conceived as a lion.¹⁵⁷ At Samos there was a temple *κεχηνότος Διούσου*.¹⁵⁸ Pliny (*N.H.* viii. 56—58) relates the story of

¹⁵⁵ The Louvre, among other Cyprian monuments, has the upper portion of a limestone statue, which represented a man standing with his hands raised to his hair: the human head is capped by that of a lion (see Perrot and Chipiez, *Phoenicia and its Dependencies*, vol. ii. p. 141, fig. 94). It is possible that this unexplained type refers to the ritual of lion-worship: cp. the description of τὰ λεοντικά on p. 117ff.

¹⁵⁶ E.g. *Arch. Zeit.* 1864, vol. xxii. Pl. CLXXXVI. (2): Visconti, *Mus. Pic-Clém.* vol. i. Pl. XXXIII. Gerhard, *Auserlesene gr.*

Vasenbilder, vol. i. Pl. XXXVIII. shows Dionysus holding a wine-cup and a lion at his feet looking up at him.

¹⁵⁷ The artistic evidence for Dionysus Leontomorphos is collected by Dr. Sandys in his edition of the *Bacchae*, pp. cxliii.—cxliv.

¹⁵⁸ Aelian *N.A.* vii. 48. Clemens Alex. *Protrept.* p. 32 (ed. Potter) says *κεχηνότος* Ἀπόλλωνος, perh. by a mere slip. De Gubernatis, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 158, states that 'Apollo passes into the form of a lion to vanquish the monsters'—but I do not know on what authority

its foundation. A certain Samian, Elpis by name, encountered a lion on the African coast, and fled for refuge to a tree, calling aloud on Liber Pater. The lion lay at the foot of the tree moaning with pain, till the Samian descended and plucked out from its jaw a bone that was troubling it. 'Qua de causa Libero Patri templum in Samo Elpis sacravit, quod ab eo facto Graeci κεχηνότος Διονύσου appellavere.' Aelian, after narrating the legend of Androcles and the lion, alludes to the Samian tale as told by¹⁵⁹ 'Erato-sthenes, Euphorion, and others also.' That it is an aetiological myth, pointing to a worship of Dionysus in lion form, can hardly be doubted. The currency of Samos from as early as B.C. 675 bore a lion's scalp as its constant device.¹⁶⁰ Again, the story emphasizes the connection with the tree-god. Fronto¹⁶¹ mentions 'arborem multorum ramorum, quam ille suum nomen catachannam nominabat': L. Preller explains the word as a corruption of (δένδρον) κεχηνός or κατακεχηνός. However that may be, the lion as a tree symbol is known from other sources. M. de Longpérier¹⁶² published the so-called 'Bouclier d'Annibale,' a large silver disc, the central space of which represents a lion standing in front of a palm-tree. This design was perhaps copied from the reverse of what Mr. Barclay Head calls 'the finest known coin of Carthage.'¹⁶³ It is possible, then, that the palm-tree watered by lions on the first Vapheio gem¹⁶⁴ may find its nearest analogue among the coast-dwellers of North Africa.

(2) In the second place the lion, as the strongest and most terrible of beasts, denoted death and the powers of the underworld.¹⁶⁵ This accounts for its occurrence on sepulchral monuments of all sorts. In 1881 Prof. Ramsay discovered near the Phrygian village of Ayazeen a relief of two

the statement is made. Roscher, *Lex.* col. 444 shows that the griffin (= Lion + Eagle) was an Apolline attribute, but not the Lion alone. However, see Head's *Hist. Num.* pp. 130-131, 152, and esp. 236, on coins of Leontini, Syracuse, Miletus, and Apollonia.

¹⁵⁹ Aelian, *l.c.* Schneider (ed. Callim. vol. i. p. 438) on the 49th Epigram of Callimachus — ἐγὼ δ' ἀνὰ τῆδε κεχηνός | κείμει τοῦ Σαμίου διπλόν, ὁ τραγικὸς | παιδαρίων Διόνυσος ἐπήκοος — writes: 'Simus dedicavit Dionysii (sic) κεχηνότος tragicam personam canque magno hiatu conspicuam, qui hiatus duplo maior fuit eo, quem habebat Διονύσιος (sic) κεχηνός, cui templum Elpis Samius dedicaverat.' Lion-masks of this sort occur as vase-decorations, *c.g.* Micali, *Mon. Inedit.* Pl. XXIX. 2.

¹⁶⁰ See for exx. Head, *Coins of the Ancients*, Pl. I. 5: II. 25: XI. 35: XIX. 28: XXIX. 31.

¹⁶¹ Ed. Nieb. p. 68.

¹⁶² *Œuvres*, ed. Schlumberger, vol. vi. pl. 4.

¹⁶³ Head, *Coins of the Ancients*, Pl. XXVI. 41.

¹⁶⁴ Among the Mycenaean intaglios is one which represents two lions standing on either

side of a tree (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1888, Pl. 10, No. 16), and another of two lions and three palm-trees (*ibid.* No. 26): see further Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. vi. p. 843, fig. 426, 2, 6. On several exx. the lion appears along with a palm-branch, *c.g.* one drawn by Otto Rossbach in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, Pl. XVI. 8. M. Reinach, *Esquisses Archéologiques*, p. 45, gives an early amulet-mould, now in the Louvre, on which is engraved 'un lion . . . tenant une branche d'arbre entre ses pattes.' And on the triangular sepulchral relief from Mycenae in the Brit. Mus. a bush occupies the corner behind the lion. In all these cases the tree or branch is probably to be explained as a *tachygraphic symbol for a landscape background*; cp. the collocation of 'lions and palm-trees,' in 1 Kings vii. 36.

¹⁶⁵ In districts where the lion was unknown the next formidable animal would be chosen. On a tomb-painting from Orvieto, Hades (Eita) appears in a cap made out of a wolf's (or lion's?) head: see Roscher, *Lex.* col. 1805 with figs. on coll. 1807-8.

lions rampant guarding the entrance to a grave; and near by the fragment of a second tomb surmounted by a colossal lion's head.¹⁶⁶ The resemblance of these figures to the Lion-gate at Mycenae is so striking that a common explanation must be postulated. If the lion symbolizes Chthonian power, it is probable that the relief over the gateway was intended to put the citadel under the protection of the Chthonian deities—a supposition that agrees well with the Mycenaean cult already investigated. In the British Museum there is a collection of archaic sculptures brought by Sir Charles Fellows from Xanthos in Lycia: the best known of these are the slabs that decorated the famous 'Lion Tomb.'¹⁶⁷ On the south side was a lion recumbent; on the north a lioness playing with her cubs; and in one division of the west side a naked man contending with a lion. Fragments of four other Lycian tombs show portions of lion or lioness.¹⁶⁸ Cyprus too has furnished several analogous examples. Pliny (*N.H.* xxxvii. 66) states that on the tomb of Hermias in that island stood a marble lion having 'inditos oculos ex smaragdis, ita radiantibus etiam in gurgitem, ut terriți refugerent thynni'! And modern excavations have brought to light a considerable number of leonine monuments. The Athiénu sarcophagus in the New York Museum¹⁶⁹ has a lion couchant at each corner. A limestone lion in the same collection¹⁷⁰ formerly stood on a Cyprian grave. The top of a sepulchral stele found by Cesnola shows a pair of recumbent lions back to back.¹⁷¹ The same custom had spread to Etruria at a very early date. In the necropolis at Vulci several stone lions have been found: and Jules Martha¹⁷² states that 'Des lions de pierres sont souvent placés, comme de féroces sentinelles, à l'extérieur des tombeaux étrusques.'

It is perhaps as a death-dealing goddess that Artemis is called a lioness. Homer at least seems to indicate that this is the reason when he makes Hera boast:

χαλεπή τοι ἐγὼ μένος ἀντιφέρεσθαι
τοξοφόρῳ περ ἐούσῃ, ἐπεὶ σε λέοντα γυναιξίν
Ζεὺς θῆκεν, καὶ ἔδωκε κατακτάμεν, ἣν κ' ἐθέλῃσθα.¹⁷³

Dr. Walter Leaf *ad loc.* observes: 'Death is commonly personified under the form of a lion in Semitic mythology,¹⁷⁴ and some traces of this appear even

¹⁶⁶ *J.H.S.* vol. iii. p. 33 ff. with Quarto Plates XVII–XVIII.

¹⁶⁷ Scharf's drawing of this is reproduced in the Brit. Mus. Cat. of Greek Sculpture, vol. i. Pl. II.

¹⁶⁸ Brit. Mus. Cat. of Greek Sculpture, vol. i. Nos. 83, 84, 89, 90.

¹⁶⁹ Perrot and Chipiez, *Phoenicia and its Dependencies*, vol. ii. figs. 143, 144, 145.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 197, fig. 131.

¹⁷¹ Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 110. In Micali, *Monum. Inediti*, Pl. XXII. 1, a funeral-scene is backed by a gable on which sits a pair of lions.

¹⁷² *L'Art Étrusque*, 1889, p. 216. figs. 167 168.

¹⁷³ *Iliad* xxi. 482–4.

¹⁷⁴ Bronze masks of lions' heads were a frequent ornament of Sidonian sarcophagi (Perrot and Chipiez, *Phoenicia and its Dependencies*, vol. i. p. 199, fig. 137). It is worth mentioning that in the *Persica* of Ctesias (ed. Gilmore, p. 132) 'Ἀστυγας μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐτάφη· καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ δὲ ἄβρωτος αὐτοῦ διέμεινεν ὁ νεκρός· λέοντες γὰρ αὐτοῦ, . . . μέχρι Πετησάκαν πάλιν ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν, ἐφύλαττον τὸν νεκρόν.

in Greek symbolism, of which the present passage is the clearest. For Artemis as a death-goddess see Z 205, 428 &c. She is said to have been worshipped in Ambrakia in the form of a lioness.' Aeschylus¹⁷⁵ mentions her as delighting in *δρόσοισιν μαλερῶν λεόντων*: Euripides¹⁷⁶ speaks of her as *σχήμα λεαίνης* | *ἐξαλλάξασα*: and Theocritus¹⁷⁷ tells how a devotee of hers—

θηρία πομπεύεσκε περισταδόν, ἐν δὲ λέαινα.

A tangible commentary on such passages may be found in several archaic representations of the goddess. On a bronze plate discovered at Olympia,¹⁷⁸ and on one of the handles of the François vase,¹⁷⁹ the so-called 'Persic' Artemis stands upright holding in either hand a lion. A remarkable series of Artemis terra-cottas has been found at Corfu in an ancient precinct of the goddess: she is represented as attended by various animals, and among them 'le lion a fourni six modèles différents.'¹⁸⁰ In the 'Εφημερίς' *Ἀρχαιολογική*¹⁸¹ for 1893 Dr. Paul Wolters discusses an early Boeotian vase on which Artemis appears with a lion rampant on either side, though she is not actually grasping them. It may however be doubted whether this animal as an attendant of Artemis is not due to her character as *πότνια θηρῶν* (*Il.* xxi. 470), protectress of wild beasts in general, rather than to any special thought of her death-bringing visitations.¹⁸²

Less questionable is the lion as servant and symbol of the Chthonian Cybele. The cult of this goddess spread westward from its original home in Phrygia and Crete. The name 'Cybele' is itself a Phrygian word denoting 'caverns';¹⁸³ and in a cavern on Mt. Dindymon near Pessinus was her most sacred image—a meteoric mass. 'The tendency of her worship was to dwell on the opposites of birth and death; as is seen in the Phrygian story of¹⁸⁴ Atys,' and the Cretan tales of the birth and death of Zeus. Her connection with the lion was a commonplace in ancient art, and appears in orthodox tradition. Hippomenes and Atalante, who profaned one of her cavern-shrines, were transformed into a lion and lioness:—

Luminis exigui fuerat prope templa recessus,
Speluncae similis, nativo pumice tectus,
Religione sacer prisca,...
Hunc init et vetito temerat sacraria probro.
Sacra retorserunt oculos; turritaque Mater,
An Stygia sontes, dubitavit, mergeret unda.

¹⁷⁵ *Agam.* 141. Alkman *frag.* 34 probably refers—as Mr. Farnell states (*Greek Lyric Poetry*, p. 315)—to a Maenad.

¹⁷⁶ *Helen.* 384. Barnes ed. 1694, p. 271, has a characteristic comment: 'figura Leaeanae, i.e. Ursae'!

¹⁷⁷ *Idyll.* ii. 68.

¹⁷⁸ Roscher, *Lex.* col. 564. Also on gold plaques found at Camiros: Salzmann, *Nécropole de Camiros*, Pl. I.

¹⁷⁹ Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, pl. 74: cp. *Micali, Monum. Inediti*, Pl. I. 3 and 23.

¹⁸⁰ *Bullet. de Corr. Hell.* 1891, vol. xv. p. 83.

¹⁸¹ *Col.* 213 ff., Pl. 8-10.

¹⁸² On the lion as associated with Artemis, see further Friedrich Marx' paper in the *Arch. Zeit.* for 1885, vol. xliii. col. 273 f.

¹⁸³ See art. 'Cybele' in *Encycl. Brit.* ed. 9.

¹⁸⁴ Cybele is associated with Atys on a Greek votive relief: Roscher, *Lex.* col. 726.

Poena levis visa est. ergo modo levia fulvae
 Colla iubae velant, digiti curvantur in ungues,
 Ex umeris armi fiunt, in pectora totum
 Pondus abit, summae cauda verruntur harenae.
 Iram vultus habet, pro verbis murmura reddunt,
 Pro thalamis celebrant silvas: aliisque timendi
 Dente premunt domito Cybeleïa frena leones.

Ov. *Met.* x. 691—704.

In short the lion is a recognized emblem of the Chthonian powers. As such it not only protects tombs and attends the deities of the underworld, but also stands sentinel over the springs and fountains through which subterranean waters are discharged. The λέων κρηνοφύλαξ,¹⁸⁵ a bronze lion placed above the spring which supplied the Klepsydra at Athens, typifies the performance of this duty. The outlet of a Greek fountain frequently took the form of a λεοντόχασμα, and is very commonly represented thus on the vases. It was also the conventional shape for the gargoyles along the top members of temple entablatures. This usage may have originated in more tropical lands. Horapollon states that 'the rising of the Nile is denoted by three large vases; and also by a lion, because it attains its full height when the Sun is in that sign of the Zodiac; for which same cause the spouts of the sacred lavers are made in the form of lions' heads.'¹⁸⁶ His explanation is, as usual, mere conjecture; but the fact remains that Oriental as well as Hellenic custom associated the lion with water,—probably because springs and fountains have always a Chthonian character, and the lion is the guardian of the Chthonian interests.

One other development of this symbol in Greece must be noticed. Herakles, although he appears at times as κορροπίων the Locust, and ἰποκτόνος the Slayer of the canker-worm,¹⁸⁷ was ordinarily conceived as a hero or even a god¹⁸⁸ wearing a lion's skin over his head and shoulders.¹⁸⁹ It is noticeable that the nearer we approach to the Mycenaean age the more lion-like does he become. In late art he merely has the skin clasped round him as a cloak or wrapped about his arm; but as we recede into the past, the necessary nature of this cloak becomes evident. Red-figured and black-figured vases show increasing ferocity. On a small Sicilian amphora,¹⁹⁰ for instance, of about B.C. 500 he approximates to the leonine aspect. And a specimen of the Island stones, acquired not long since by the British Museum, shows him clad in a complete lion's skin: the head of the beast covers his hair; the forepaws are fastened round his neck; the hind legs

¹⁸⁵ Pollux, viii. 112.

¹⁸⁶ King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, p. 109.

¹⁸⁷ Strabo, 613. Apollo also was Παρροπίων: Strabo, *ibid.*, Paus. I. xxiv. 8.

¹⁸⁸ See Dr. Fennell in the *Encycl. Brit.* ed. 9, s.v. *Hercules*, Merry and Riddell on *Odys.* xi.

60: Roscher, *Lex.* coll. 2238—2240.

¹⁸⁹ In the *Jahrbuch des k. d. Arch. Inst.* for 1892, vol. vii. p. 68 ff. Körte has a monograph on *Herakles mit dem abgeschnittenem Löwenkopf als Helm*.

¹⁹⁰ *J.H.S.* vol. xiii. p. 70.

protect his thighs; and the tail hangs down behind. Cyprus too has yielded a series of early stone statues of Herakles, ranging from the more refined type of the fragment in the Louvre to the colossus of Amathus, about which 'il y a encore quelque chose de difforme et presque de bœstial.'¹⁹¹ Now it might be argued that, just as Juno Sispita who is depicted on the coins of the gens Thoria wearing a goat's skin and horns over her head was originally no more than a sacred goat, so Herakles who on the coins of the Macedonian monarchs appears with a lion's skin for a head-covering was the outcome of some primitive lion-cult.

And if this be so, the connection with the lion as a Chthonian animal is not hard to trace. For Herakles has much to do with waters and the underworld. The Amathusian colossus, his acknowledged prototype, served as the orifice of a fountain.¹⁹² The only Heraklean exploits related by Homer are the fight with the sea-daemon and the descent into Hades to carry off Cerberus.¹⁹³ These affinities reappear in subsequent tradition. On the one hand, we have Herakles employing the rivers Alpheus and Peneus to cleanse the stables of Augeas; wrestling with the Achelous; capturing the bull that Poseidon had sent out of the sea to Minos; saving Hesione from a sea-monster; slaying the hydra that haunted the swamp near the well of Amymon; and crossing the waves in the golden cup of Helios. Monuments of the best artistic period repeatedly connect him with springs and baths;¹⁹⁴ indeed the phrase 'Ἡράκλεια λουτρά' passed into a proverb.¹⁹⁵ On the other hand, his underground achievements—the bringing back of Alcestis, and the capture of Cerberus—were not less notorious; he crushed Antaeus whose strength lay in contact with the earth; and his own home with Eurystheus, king of Mycenae and Tiryns, is represented as a large jar sunk in the ground. Lastly, both traits unite in the draining of the Stymphalian marsh, a task most appropriate to one whose relations were at the same time aquatic and chthonic.

Here we may pause to apply our results. The lion has come before us as a symbol (1) of *vegetation*, and (2) of *the nether springs*. If we glance back at those relics of Mycenaean art which furnished our point of departure, it is evident that they illustrate the second of these two aspects. For almost without exception the leonine figures are represented as bearing vessels of water.¹⁹⁶ On one of the Vapheio

¹⁹¹ Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. iii. p. 570; p. 577, Fig. 389; p. 578, Fig. 391.

¹⁹² Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. iii. p. 569.

¹⁹³ For the former as portrayed on early monuments, see Roscher, *Lex. coll.* 2192-3: on the latter, *ibid.* col. 2205.

¹⁹⁴ Roscher, *Lex. coll.* 2237-8. Cp. Paley on Propert. iv. 18 (17), 5, Herculanum.

¹⁹⁵ Schol. Arist. *Nub.* 1034 (ed. Bekker): Athen. 512 E. Further ref. in Leutsch, *Par. Gr.* ii. 449 on Apost. viii. 66.

¹⁹⁶ In the *Bullet. de Corr. Hell.* 1892, p. 315, pl. I., M. Heuzey describes a relief, which in point of style is intermediate between the Mycenaean and the Egyptian. On it occurs a lion standing by the side of a 'vase sphérique, sorte d'aryballe.' This type seems to have survived long after its significance was forgotten. See *Voyage Archéologique de M. le Bas*, vol. i. pl. 109, a bronze standard found at Athens, which is topped by two lions heraldically placed, r. and l. of a large urn.

stones, however, these ἰδροφόροι are watering a sacred palm-tree. And the question arises whether this is an example of 'contaminatio,' or whether there is some essential connection between the vegetative and the chthonian aspects of the symbolism. Personally I incline to the latter opinion. It seems to me a *prima facie* probability that the animal, which watches over the water gushing from the rock, should also represent the palm-trees and vines springing from the soil. In view of its chthonian character both functions are explicable. There are, moreover, two considerations which tend to substantiate the view. In the first place the leonine Cybele was not only a cave-goddess, but also 'a goddess of vine-growing and agriculture' ¹⁹⁷ closely connected with Dionysus.¹⁹⁸ And in the second place the same double *rapprochement* may be traced in the legends of Herakles. His connection with waters and the underworld we have already seen. As regards vegetation, Pollux (i. 30—31) has some interesting remarks. 'In Boeotia,' he says, 'they sacrifice μῆλα to Herakles. I do not mean the poetical word for sheep, but the fruit of the tree. The custom originated as follows. The festival of the god had fallen due, and the time for the sacrifice was at hand—the victim being a ram. Those who were bringing it were delayed against their will, because the Asopus had swollen with a sudden flood and could not be crossed. However the children playing round the temple performed the wonted rite. For taking a ripe apple they propped it on four straws by way of legs, adding a couple above for horns. And according to the poets [? Boeotians] they said that they were sacrificing the μῆλον as a πρόβατον. The story goes that Herakles was pleased with the sacrifice, which is still kept up.' This singular legend, which is given with some variations by Hesychius *s.v.* Μήλων 'Ηρακλῆς and Suidas *s.v.* Μήλειος 'Ηρακλῆς, certainly points to a connection between Herakles and the apple-tree: with it may be linked that hero's expedition in search of the golden apples of the Hesperides. Nor is it with apples alone that Herakles has to do. Theocritus (ii. 121) calls the white poplar 'Ηρακλέος ἱερὸν ἔρνος, and the Scholiast *ad loc.* (ed. Dübner, p. 25) gives the reason:

κατελθὼν γὰρ ὁ 'Ηρακλῆς εἰς ἄδην διὰ τὸν Κέρβερον, ἀνήγαγε καὶ τὸ φυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ 'Αχέροντος· οἱ δὲ ἀθλοῦντες εἰς γυμνάσια ἐστέφοντο ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ τῇ τιμῇ τοῦ 'Ηρακλέος. καλεῖται δὲ καὶ 'Αχεροντὶς ἡ λεύκη.

Here the chthonian and arboreal traits of Herakles' character appear to be closely connected. Again, Pindar (*Ol.* iii. 13—34) relates how Herakles was the first to bring the olive-tree from the land of the Hyperboreans and to plant it at Olympia:

ἶδε καὶ κείναν χθόνα πνοιαῖς ὀπιθεν Βορέα
ψυχροῦ· τόθι δένδρεα θάμβαινε σταθεῖς.
τῶν νιν γλυκὺς ἕμερος ἔσχευεν δωδεκάγναμπτου περὶ τέρμα δρόμου
ἵππων φυτεῦσαι.

¹⁹⁷ *Encycl. Brit.* *s.v.* 'Cybele.'

¹⁹⁸ Cf. quotation from Nonnos on p. 108.

This repeated mention of trees and tree-planting is surely no fortuitous combination, but an essential feature of the myth. It is moreover conceivable that Herakles' club, the famous *ρόπαλον*, *τό οἱ αἰὲν ἐχάνδανε δεξιτερὰ χεῖρ*,¹⁹⁹ was originally the *symbol of a tree-god*. We know that Hera at Samos was a beam, and Hermes on the Athenian Akropolis a log concealed by myrtle boughs; so that *à priori* indignity can hardly be urged. And by way of positive evidence the following epigram of Callimachus²⁰⁰ merits attention:

Τίν με λεοντάγχωνε, συοκτόνε, φήγινον ὄζον
θῆκε. Τίς; Ἀρχῖνος. Ποῖος; ὁ Κρής. Δέχομαι.

On this *φήγινον ὄζον* A. Fabri comments—'fagina clava Herculem alloquitur.' It may be added that on many coins Herakles' club resembles a tree-trunk in size and shape,²⁰¹ and that a coin of Selge, the obverse of which gives a bearded head of Herakles, has on its reverse a club and a tree planted in a vase.²⁰²



FIG. 10.

These considerations, though far from amounting to a proof, certainly strengthen the conjecture that the lion as tree-symbol is akin to, if not identical with, the lion as warden of the underworld and its waters.

But whatever may be the precise relation between the two aspects of lion-worship, that worship was not yet obsolete in Mycenaean times. In point of savagery it furnishes a parallel to the cult of Artemis Brauronia

¹⁹⁹ Theocrit. *Id.* xiii. 57.

²⁰⁰ Ed. Ernesti, *Epigr.* xxxvi.

¹ See e.g. Morell's *Thesaur. Num.* 'Gens

Caecilia' Tab ii., 'Gens Eppia' i., 'Gens Coponia' i.-iii.

²⁰² Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 593.

who 'had a shrine near the grave of Kallisto, bore the title of Kalliste, and was herself a bear.'²⁰³ To press the analogy: just as Artemis the Bear had a festival at which human ἄρκτοι danced the ἀρκτεῖα, so the cult of the Lion may have involved a dance on the part of human λέοντες. A slab from the frieze of the Assyrian king Assur-nasir-pal²⁰⁴ represents two men dressed in the heads and skins of lions apparently engaged in a mimetic dance (Fig. 10): 'one holds a whip in his right hand, and grasps his jaw with the left. The second clasps his hands in front of his breast.'²⁰⁵ A similar piece of ritual may well have obtained among the inhabitants of Cyprus and the Archipelago. For its existence in Mycenaean times the only direct evidence I can cite is an unpublished seal of which Mr. A. J. Evans kindly sends me an impression (Fig. 11). The stone, an engraved



FIG. 11.

carnelian, was found at Athens in 1884 and shows two figures much contorted in order to fill the circular field. The one to the left in the cut has the legs of a man joined to the upper part of a lion by means of a girdle: the other resembles it, except that the upper part is that of a goat. Now Athenaeus in enumerating sundry kinds of dances observes:²⁰⁶ ἔτι δὲ μορφασμός, καὶ γλαύξ, καὶ λέων, ἀλφίτων τε ἐκχύσεις, καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπή, καὶ στοιχεία, καὶ πυρρίχη. His words are cleared up by a passage in Pollux,²⁰⁷ which informs us that 'Morphasmos' meant 'a mimicry of all manner of animals' and adds—ὁ δὲ λέων ὀρχήσεως φοβερᾶς εἶδος. ἦν δὲ τινα καὶ Λακωνικὰ ὀρχήματα δειμαλέα. Σειληνοὶ δ' ἦσαν, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῖς Σάτυροι ὑπότρομα ὀρχούμενοι. καὶ Ἰθυμβοὶ ἐπὶ Διονύσῳ, καὶ καρνατίδες ἐπ' Ἀρτέμιδι. Thus the context of the passage from Pollux suggests that this dance called ὁ λέων had some religious (? Dionysiac) significance; and we may provisionally assign it to the lion-cult which we have detected. In favour of a Dionysiac interpretation is a curious vase-painting (Fig. 12) published in 1869 by M. de Longpérier²⁰⁸ with the following description:—

'Amphore de terre rouge à couverte noire...Homme à tête de lion, avec pieds de lion et queue de cheval. Il est agenouillé; ses reins sont entourés

²⁰³ Miss Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments*, p. 402.

Now in the Brit. Mus. Nimroud Gallery 11a. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, I. Pl. 30. The third figure to the left is playing a musical instrument of some sort, with streamers attached.

²⁰⁵ In *Monuments of Nineveh*, I. Pl. 82, Layard shows a somewhat similar relief = an armed human figure with the head of a lion; it

was 'found lying between the winged bulls forming the entrance to a chamber at Kouyunjik.' At the same place he discovered two reliefs of colossal men, lion-headed and eagle-footed, armed with dagger and mace: see *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 462.

²⁰⁶ Athen. 629 F.

²⁰⁷ Pollux, iv. 103, 104.

²⁰⁸ *Musée Napoléon III. Choix de monuments*, Pl. LIX.

d'un subligaculum ; il porte une cuirasse de métal jaune ornée de spirals sur les pectoraux.'

No explanation of this strange figure has hitherto been offered ; but I think that the elements for explaining it are now to hand. The horse's tail points to the Dionysiac circle : Sileni and Satyrs—even when they have goats' ears and horns—wear equine tails. The lion's mask²⁰⁹ suggests an animal-disguise ; and the crouching posture forcibly recalls the Brauronian bear-dance. Putting these factors together, I see in this vase-painting a representation of a ceremonial dance in honour of the leonine Dionysus—*Διόνυσος κεχηνώς*—in which the celebrant was dressed up to imitate a lion in form and features. There is an interesting passage in Porphyry²¹⁰ which mentions a similar practice among the Mithraici :—'The doctrine of



FIG. 12.

metempsychosis,' he says, 'is a tenet of all primitive peoples. And this is apparently the meaning of the Mithraic mysteries. For, hinting at our fellowship with the lower animals, they represent us human beings by means of these animals. Thus the mystics who share in the same rites are called by them '*lions*,' while the women are known as '*hyaenas*'²¹¹ and the attendants as '*ravens*.' The same holds good in the case of their parents, who are spoken of as '*eagles*' and '*hawks*.' Further, *the man who joins in these*

²⁰⁹ That the head-covering is a mask is indicated by the lines on the cheek : cp. the crescents mentioned on p. 107. I am not sure that M. de Longpérier is right in remarking '*pieds de lion*': the feet may be human, though somewhat distorted by the pose of the whole figure. The closest parallel I can cite is a scarab of green jasper from Tharros in Sar-

dinia [*Brit. Mus. Cat. of Gems*, No. 178, Pl. C] on which *a man with a lion's skin over his head crouches, drawing a sword from its sheath* : this can hardly be Herakles, as Herakles on early gems has always a club, or at least a lance.

²¹⁰ *de Abstinencia*, iv. § 16.

²¹¹ *λεαίνας* has been plausibly conjectured for *βαίνας*.

lion-orgies (τὰ λεοντικά) *girds on all manner of animal forms.*^{211b} Pallas in his work on Mithras explains the custom (popularly supposed to allude to the signs of the zodiac) as in reality a reference to the human soul, which they say is enclosed in all manner of bodies. For certain of the Romans also in their own language speak of 'boars,' 'scorpions' (?), 'lizards' (?), and 'black-birds' (?); and have given these names to the attendant deities—to Artemis



FIG. 13.

the name of She-Wolf; to the Sun that of Lizard or *Lion* or Snake or Hawk; to Hecate that of Horse, Bull, *Lion*, or Dog.' There is in the Louvre collection a bronze-plaque (Fig. 13) which—if I am right—aptly illus-

^{211b} Relying on this passage Reinesius emended Apul. *Metam.* xi. 257: 'et humeris dependebat, pone tergum, talorum tenuis pretiosa chlamyda. quaquā tamen viseres, colore vario circumnotatis insignibar animalibus. hinc dracones Indici: inde gryphes Hyperborei: quos in speciem pinnatae alitis generat mundus alter. hanc *Olympiadem* stolam sacrați nuncupant.' But I suspect that his conjecture *Leonticam* (see Delphin ed. of Apuleius, vol. i. p. 800) is

misleading, and that the robe in question, worn by those initiated into the mysteries of Isis, was merely an example of the 'tunicae . . . varietate liciorum effigiatæ in species animalium multiformes' affected by the luxurious (see the reff. collected by Erfurd on Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv. 6, ed. 1808, vol. ii. p. 37), and named after the Elean Zeus (Paus. V. xi. 1, τῷ δὲ ἱματίῳ ζῳδιὰ τε καὶ τῶν ἀνθῶν τὰ κρίνα ἔστιν ἐμπεποιημένα).

trates this passage from Porphyry. It has been described by M. Clermont-Ganneau as 'une représentation de l'enfer assyrien.'²¹² Beneath certain figures emblematic of the stars (?) is a procession of long-robed beings with leonine heads: they lead up to a funeral scene in which two priests of Anou stand on either side of a corpse. Lower still is a monstrous form, grasping two serpents and suckling a pair of diminutive lions: it kneels on the back of a horse in a boat crossing the sea. At the edge of the sea is another monster; and farther off trees and the remains of a banquet. I take it that the whole plaque, surmounted by a lion's head and paws, is of a funerary character. The first row of symbols denotes the heaven, the next two the earth, and the lowest space the underworld. The mourners are arrayed with lions' heads, being in fact the Mithraic *λέοντες* who in their ritual thus symbolize the metempsychosis of the departed.

It would appear then that the Mycenaean lion-cult involved not only an animal oblation and a *ὑδροφορία* or *λουτροφορία*—in one case for the purpose of watering a sacred palm—but also a mimetic dance. The performers of these several offices were dressed in artificial lion-skins, and probably called by the name of *λέοντες*.

Few features in the symbolism of the Lion are more striking than its resemblance to that of the Ass. By comparing the foregoing statement with the results reached on page 102 we see that the ceremonial observances connected with the latter closely correspond to those connected with the former. And the similarity of ritual is due to similarity of nature. Both animals are sacred to Dionysus: both represent the waters of the underworld. This parallelism is graphically exhibited in a vase-painting from the Vatican collection,²¹³ which portrays men and women symmetrically arranged filling their pitchers from jets of water that are issuing out of two lions' heads and two asses' heads.²¹⁴ Again, Midas the ass-king is said to have built the first temple at Pessinus to Cybele the lion-goddess. And Cybele employed the humbler beast to bear her image from town to town.²¹⁵ But if the leonine and asinine functions are thus coincident, we can account for what has been called 'the original myth of the ass-lion,' a myth that may 'be traced as far back as the Vedic scriptures.'²¹⁶ The deity which appeared at one time as an ass, at another as a lion, would readily be conceived as twy-natured.²¹⁷ Hence by a compendious symbolism, which occurs more than

²¹² *Rev. Arch.* 1879, p. 337; Pl. XXV.

²¹³ *Museum Etruscum Gregorianum*, vol. ii. Pl. X. 2b.

²¹⁴ As with the ass, so with the lion, rhytons exist moulded in the shape of its head, e.g. two exx. in Vase-room III. of the British Museum (cases 41 and 42).

²¹⁵ Lenormant and de Witte, *Élite des Monuments*, vol. i. p. 130.

²¹⁶ De Gubernatis, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 379. Benfey in his *Einleitung* to the *Panchatantra*, p. 463, § 188 collects the authorities for the fable of the Ass in the Lion's skin. The same

two animals are associated in other apologues, e.g. the Ass and the Lion hunting together (Phaedr. i. 11; *Fab. Aesop. Coll.* ed. Halm, No. 259; cp. 260, 323). Oriental sources are quoted by Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, ed. Rosenmüller, vol. i. p. 180. M. de Longpérier, *Œuvres*, vol. iii. Pl. IX. published a large silver bowl on which the Ass and the Lion are shown together.

²¹⁷ Caelius Rhodiginus ii. § 6, says: 'Qui vero inaquosa et arida frequentant, corporibus arecentibus (cuiusmodi *ὄντα κελοι* pernoscentur qui sunt *asininis* cruribus) hi se mares plurimum

once (see p. 138) on the Mycenaean intaglios, the early artist represented the worshippers of this deity as partaking of both natures simultaneously. The ass-figures on the Island gems have apparently the legs of lions.

III.—THE CULT OF THE BULL.

‘Semibovemque virum semivirumque bovem.’

OVID, *Ars Am.* ii. 24.

Another animal, which rivals the lion in the frequency of its appearance both on the Island stones and on the metal-work of Mycenae, is the bull. In this case there are of course numerous representations of a purely pastoral character. Many of the gems, for example, show a bull grazing or recumbent in a simple posture which would render any symbolic interpretation far-fetched and therefore false. But there are also not a few tokens that the wearers of these gems regarded the bull as an object of religious veneration. It will be convenient to present them in tabular form:—



FIG. 15.



FIG. 14.



FIG. 16.

A. The *Annali dell' Instituto* for 1885²¹⁸ published an Island stone, found at Orvieto but apparently of Greek workmanship, which represents (Fig. 14) a couple of bulls in much the same attitude as the lions on Cesnola's Cyprian bowl. They are clad in coats of hide and have girdles about their waists. They stand facing each other, and carry vessels in hands which seem to be human. Between them is a man who grasps one horn of each bull: he wears nothing but a cincture. To right and left of the group are palm-branches.

Again, there is in the British Museum²¹⁹ a lenticular gem of serpentine or green porphyry, which originally came from Crete. On it (Fig. 15) are the legs of a man combined with the forepart of a goat and the forepart of a bull. This curious figure, which Tzetzes would term a *βουτραγο-*

exhibent, interdum quoque *leonem* ac *canem* induere videntur.' This may give force to the collocation of Origen *contra Celsum* (ed. Lommatzsch vi. 300, p. 368): ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις λέγει ἀρμόζοντα μὲν τοῖς ἀναπλάσσει τοὺς τε λεοντοειδεῖς καὶ ὄνοκεφάλους καὶ δρακοντοειδεῖς ἄρχοντας, καὶ εἴ τις ἐκείνοις παραπλησίως ἐμυ-

θολόγησεν.

²¹⁸ Vol. 57, Pl. GH. No. 8.

²¹⁹ *Cat. of Gems*, No. 76, Pl. A: Milchhöfer, *op. cit.* p. 78, Fig. 50: Maxime Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpt. Gr.* p. 57, Fig. 36: Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. vi. p. 851, Fig. 432, 15.

ταυράνθρωπος, has not yet received any adequate explanation, but may—I think—be attributed to the designer's imperfect skill in perspective drawing. He wished to represent *two* men, one with the head and shoulders of a goat, the other with the head and shoulders of a bull.²²⁰ But being at a loss to find room for both of them in his limited space, he made the legs of the one serve as the legs of the other also. An exactly similar instance of artistic economy is seen on certain gems cited by Milchhöfer,²²¹ and a couple engraved in the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική* for 1889.²²² It is noticeable that the British Museum stone shows the same girdle and lappet of skin covering the man's thighs that we have already remarked in the case of the Ass and the Lion.

Among some intaglios found at Mycenae in 1888 is one²²³ which has been described as: *Τέρας, οὗ τὸ κάτω σῶμα ἀπὸ τῆς ὀσφύος ἀνθρώπινον, τὸ λοιπὸν λέοντος, σπαράσσει αἶγαγρον, οὗ μόνον ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ ὁ λαιμὸς φαίνονται.* The illustration here appended (Fig. 16) will suffice to prove that the upper part of this *τέρας* is *bovine*, not *leonine*; the long curved horns can hardly be mistaken. The author of the foregoing description must have been misled by a few straight cuts of the graving-tool on the neck of the animal, which at first sight suggest a mane. The design seems to represent a human being who wears the *προτομή* of a bull over the upper half of his body, to which it is fastened by a thick girdle. This personage stoops to raise by means of his mouth and arms the head and neck of a Cretan goat.

There is, if we argue from analogy, a likelihood that these three Island stones depict symbolically and actually bull-worshippers in full sacrificial costume.

B. Sometimes the human form has only the head of a bull. In the *Annali* for 1885²²⁴ Carl Purgold engraves a bull-headed statuette of Mycenaean style: and Cesnola²²⁵ found at Citium a clay idol of the same type. Perrot and Chipiez,²²⁶ too, draw a Cyprian sculpture of a man wrapped in a mantle from which protrudes a bovine head; they add—'Une seconde variante du même type montre ce même personnage portant les deux mains à son museau; il fait le mouvement de quelqu'un qui se préparerait à enlever une tête postiche, un masque. Ce geste nous explique peut-être le vrai caractère de ces images...Il se pourrait que, dans quelque une des fêtes qui se célébraient autour des temples, on se fût affublé de masques d'animaux.' This explanation is, I think, confirmed by a larger statue found at Golgoi,²²⁷ which holds in its left hand the head or mask of an ox.

C. Thirdly, there are many cases in which only the *βουκράνιον* is represented. Foremost among these is the magnificent specimen now in

²²⁰ Milchhöfer, *op. cit.* p. 78, erroneously takes them for a *pair* of bulls.

²²¹ Milchhöfer, *op. cit.* p. 82, Fig. 54a, b, c.

²²² Pl. 10, Nos. 9 and 10.

²²³ *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1888, Pl. 10, No.

33.

²²⁴ Vol. 57, Pl. B.

²²⁵ Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 51.

²²⁶ *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. iii. p. 606, Fig. 414.

²²⁷ Cesnola, *op. cit.* p. 161.

the Schliemann collection at Athens. It was obtained from the largest and richest of the Mycenae shaft-graves, and displays a bull's head of silver (purple patina) with horns of gold; traces of gilding are also to be seen on ears, eyes and muzzle; and upon the forehead between the horns there is a large gold rosette. As to the meaning of this really fine work of art Dr. Schuchhardt writes: ²²⁸ 'On some Egyptian wall-paintings we see among the tribute brought by foreign nations to the Pharaoh the head of an ox, ²²⁹ and on some other similar paintings we again meet with it, used this time as a weight in a scale. ²³⁰ However these analogies have as yet afforded no satisfactory explanation of this Mycenaean ox. Perhaps the head was hung up in the grave as a dedicatory offering.' This last view appears to me very probably correct. We know from Theophrastus ²³¹ that to hang up the actual head of the sacrificed ox was a common practice among the Greeks: the man of 'petty ambition' is eager *βοῦν θύσας τὸ προμετωπίδιον ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς εἰσόδου προσπατταλῶσαι*. But I think we can go a step further. The use of the word *προμετωπίδιον*, which ²³² elsewhere denotes the complete skin of the animal's head worn as a mask or helmet, suggests that the Mycenaean ox-head which is hollow and light may have been a sacrificial mask worn by the buried chieftan during his life-time. At any rate, that it had some such religious import seems clear from the following facts:—

(i.) Fifty or more 'small heads of oxen, with a double axe between their horns, cut out of gold plate,' ²³³ were discovered in the same tomb.

(ii.) The horns are of gold: for which practice as applied to oxen for sacrifice cp. Homer, *Il.* x. 294 and *Od.* iii. 382—

σοὶ δ' αὖ ἐγὼ ῥέξω βοῦν ἦνιν εὐρυμέτωπον,...
τήν τοι ἐγὼ ῥέξω χρυσὸν κέρασιν περιχέυας.

Also *Od.* iii. 425-438: Aeschin. 77, 12: Plat. *Alc.* II. 149 C.: Plut. *Mor.* 184 E; *vit. Aem. P. c.* 33: Verg. *Aen.* ix. 627. Similarly it is said that the bull killed at the Taurobolia had its horns gilded.

(iii.) The rosette between the horns denotes perhaps the tuft of hair to which special sanctity was attached. Thus in the case of an ox Homer, *Od.* iii. 445, says:—

εὔχετ' ἀπαρχόμενος, κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλων.

Euripides, *El.* 791f.:—

μοσχίαν τρίχα
τεμών, ἐφ' ἀγνὸν πῦρ ἔθηκε δεξιᾷ.

²²⁸ Schliemann's *Excavations*, p. 249.

²²⁹ See the *Journal des Savants* for May 1885, p. 278 *fin.*: Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. i. p. 339, where it is stated that the shapes and colouring of the animal-heads prove them to have been made in metal.

²³⁰ See Prof. Ridgeway's *Origin of Currency and Weight Standards*, 1892, p. 128, fig. 19.

²³¹ *Char.* vii. ed. Jebb.

²³² Herodot. vii. 70.

²³³ Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* p. 249, fig. 249.

Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 245 :—

‘Et summas carpens media inter cornua saetas
Ignibus imponit sacris, libamina prima.’

The same custom was observed in the case of a *goat* (Hom. *Il.* xix. 254), and in the case of *sheep* (Hom. *Il.* iii. 273). It will also be remembered that there are representations of both the *ass* and the *lion* in which the forelock is distinctly emphasized.²³⁴

The device of a bull's head *with a rosette* or ornamental pattern on the forehead is known also as the shape of a Mycenaean vase from Carpathos drawn by Mr. Murray.²³⁵ Max Müller²³⁶ cites a similar example of the potter's art. In the *Jahrbuch des k. d. Arch. Inst.* for 1892²³⁷ is a woodcut of a Mycenaean cup from Egypt, adorned with bulls' heads—rosettes being inserted between the horns. The tradition lingered on into much later times. In the Terra-cotta Room at the British Museum is a lamp in the form of a bull's head with a palmetto ornament between the horns and a rosette on the forehead. Conze in an exhaustive essay on *Griechische Kohlenbecken*²³⁸ depicts several examples of this design serving as mere ornamentation on the handles of Greek amphorae,—a usage perhaps to be connected with the ox-heads that decorate the handles of Cesnola's bowl.

Without the rosette the *βουκράνιον* is a still more frequent motif in Aegean art. The *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική* for 1888²³⁹ published a vessel from Mycenae, the rim of which is embellished with a whole series of them. They appear on several samples of Island stones in the British Museum;²⁴⁰ also on certain steatite and haematite cylinders from Cyprus.²⁴¹ In metal work too they furnish a frequent pattern; sometimes forming the whole design—as on a Rhodian trinket discovered by Messrs. Salzmann and Biliotti; sometimes being mere stop-gaps—as on a gold plate figured by Dr. Schuchhardt.²⁴² Nor must we omit the important gold ring from Mycenae on which are²⁴³ ‘three unmistakable heads of oxen, with long curved horns.’

To recapitulate: the extant remains of Achæan art comprise, in the first place, one Island stone portraying skin-clad bulls engaged in a ceremonial presentation of oenochoes, another showing a man disguised by the head and shoulders of a bull, and yet another representing a similar personage raising a slain animal from the ground; secondly, several terracottas and stone statuettes depicting bull-headed humanity; thirdly, numerous instances of the bull's head used alone, either with or without a rosette between the

²³⁴ See pages 81, 84, 101n. 121, 106. And for horse, p. 138.

²³⁵ *Handbook of Greek Archaeology*, Pl. II. No. 14. Brit. Mus. Vase-room I. case 13.

²³⁶ *Asien und Europa nach Altägyptischen Denkmälern*, 1893, pp. 348–9.

²³⁷ Vol. vii. p. 14 (*Arch. Anzeiger*).

²³⁸ *Jahrbuch des k. d. Arch. Inst.* for 1890,

p. 118 ff.—esp. 132–133.

²³⁹ Pl. 7.

²⁴⁰ Cat. Nos. 65, 68, etc.

²⁴¹ Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. iii. pp. 638–9: Figs. 429, 430, 432.

²⁴² *Op. cit.* p. 260, Fig. 261.

²⁴³ *Ibid.* p. 278, Fig. 282.

horns. It remains to elucidate the nature of the cult or cults to which these diverse relics bear witness.

Now it will be observed that one of our three Island stones came from Crete, the home of the Minotaur. According to consistent tradition this monster was the offspring of Pasiphae and the bull that Poseidon sent out of the sea in answer to Minos' prayer. The antiquity of the whole myth is beyond question: it is—says Miss Harrison²⁴⁴—‘undoubtedly the oldest that is connected with Theseus’; in fact, the only one of his series which occurs on black-figured vases. And the said vases, despite Milchhöfer's desperate attempt to claim the Minotaur as²⁴⁵ ‘ein pferdeköpfiger Dämon,’ represent him as clad from head to foot in a bull's skin with an undeniable *bull's* head and tail.²⁴⁶ In later art too he repeatedly appears as a man with a bovine head.²⁴⁷

To trace his pedigree further back may prove instructive. Minos, Pasiphae's husband, was the grandson of that Minos who judged in the nether world; and he in turn was the child of Zeus by Europa. It was to the same island of Crete and under the same disguise of a sea-faring bull that Zeus carried off Europa.²⁴⁸ The story went that he wedded her near a spring under the Gortynian plane-tree, which in token of the event is ever-green. And the beautiful series of Cretan coins, which represent Europa sitting amid the branches, shows that the sacred tree is an integral part of the legend.

Receding yet further, we learn that Europa was daughter of Agenor, king of the Phoenicians; and that Agenor was the offspring of Poseidon by Libya. Poseidon—it is well known—had strong affinity with the bull, which in Homer appears as the victim especially devoted to his honour. That he sent a bull out of the sea to Minos, we have already observed. On another occasion he dispatched a similar emissary to slay Hippolytus. Indeed he is himself described by Hesiod as

τ α ὕ ρ ε ο ς Ἐννοσίγαιος,
ὅς Θήβης κρήδεμνον ἔχει ῥύεταί τε πόλῃα.—[*Scut.* 104.]

Tzetzes *ad loc.* comments: ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσίας ταύρων ἐπιτελεῖν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ταυρεῖος ἐκλήθη Βοιωτικῶς—an obvious assumption of effect for cause.

To resume our genealogy: Libya, the wife of Poseidon, was the daughter

²⁴⁴ *Mythology and Monuments*, p. cxxi.

²⁴⁵ *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 77.

²⁴⁶ See e.g. Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pp. 1789–1790.

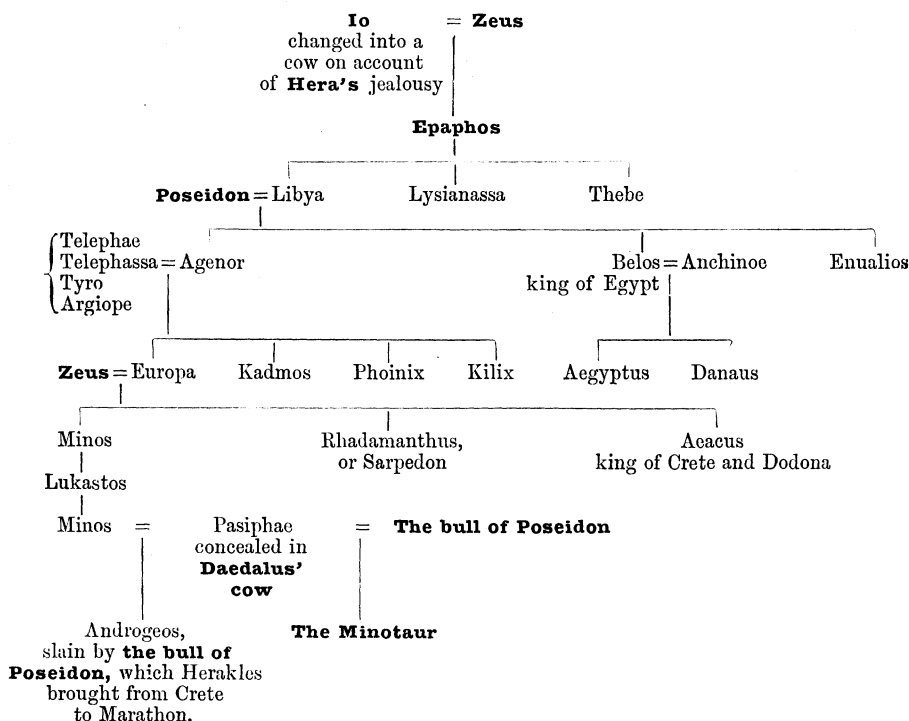
²⁴⁷ An odd variant (unnoticed in the lexx.) occurs on a mosaic from an ancient dome at Cremona. Among other subjects is a man wearing what seems to be a bull's mask, and armed with shield and sword; the figure is inscribed CENTAVRVS, which M. Müntz in the *Rev. Arch.* for 1876, Pl. XXIV. p. 407 holds to

be a mistake for MINOTAVRVS. In either case it is a new type, to which perhaps Miss Harrison's words are applicable: ‘It seems possible that the form of the Minotaur may have been suggested by the necessities of a mimetic dance, the part of the Minotaur being taken by a man with a bull-head mask.’—*Myth. and Mon.* p. cxxvii.

²⁴⁸ To the received authorities must be added the recently discovered metope from Selinus: the *Academy* for April 16, 1892, p. 381.

of an Egyptian, Epaphos by name. And once more we are met by the same symbolism; for Herodotus²⁴⁹ identifies Epaphos with the bull Apis.

Lastly, Epaphos is the son of Zeus, whom we have seen already under the disguise of the sea-bull, by Io, who through fear of Hera²⁵⁰ was said to have been changed into a cow. For the sake of clearness I append the stemma in full, marking in Clarendon type those persons who were partially or entirely bovine:—



The prominent figure throughout this whole legend is the sea-bull of Poseidon, which weds the daughter of Epaphos, seduces Pasiphae, and slays Androgeos. Why 'the Greek god of everything liquid'—as Seyffert²⁵¹ well terms him—should have been represented by a bull, is not altogether clear.

²⁴⁹ Herodot. ii. 153; iii. 27, 28.

²⁵⁰ It was Hera who also struck with frenzy the three daughters of the Argive king Proetus, so that imagining themselves to be heifers—'implerunt falsis mugitibus agros.' These legends throw light on the traditional epithet *βοῶπις*. I may add the conjecture that Argos of the hundred eyes was a leopard. The peacock was fabled to have derived its tail from him (e.g. Mosch. ii. 58): but that he is not to be identified with that bird is clear from the legends of his prowess; he did to death 'a

fierce bull which ravaged Arcadia, a satyr who robbed and violated persons, the serpent Echidna, . . . and the murderers of Apis' (Smith, *Dict. Biog. and Myth.* vol. i. p. 282 b.). In Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, vol. i. p. 753, we have him portrayed wearing a leopard's skin, the spots of which are continued as eyes over the nude parts of his body; and Roscher, *Lex.* col. 274, gives a vase-painting in which he wears an animal's hide over his shoulders.

²⁵¹ *Class. Dict.* ed. Nettleship and Sandys, p. 506a.

According to Strabo's conjecture, the symbolism was meant to recall either—

'The *bellowing* voice of boiling seas'—or—'The wave-worn *horns* of the echoing bank':

Strab. X. ii. 19.—ταύρω μὲν εἰκότα λέγεσθαι τὸν Ἀχελϋὸν φασί, καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμούς, ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἤχων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰ ρεῖθρα καμπῶν, ἃς καλοῦσι κέρατα.

Others have detected allusions still more recondite, *e.g.*:—

Smith, *Dict. Myth.* vol. iii. p. 984 s. v. 'Taurocephalus': 'to indicate their fertilizing effect upon countries.'

But, rationalism apart, it will not be denied that the connection between water and the bull was intimate. Oceanus is by Euripides (*Orestes*, 1378) called *ταυρόκερανος*. And river-gods were commonly conceived as tauriform: M. de Longpérier, whose knowledge of ancient vase-paintings was extensive and reliable, has left²⁵² an elaborate list of the extant types; arranged in order of theriomorphism they are these—

- | | | |
|-------------|---|--|
| River-god = | { | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. A bull. ii. An androcephalous bull. iii. A taurocephalous man. iv. A horned man with fish's body and tail. v. A youth with horned head. |
|-------------|---|--|

To the examples of the earliest types cited by the French savant should be added an 'androtauric' vase from Kameiros, now in the British Museum.²⁵³ It represents the head of the local river-god; the horns are green (*i.e.* discoloured blue?), and a blackish face peers out from the *προτομή* of a bull. An aryballos²⁵⁴ of the same provenance in the form of a bull's head also deserves mention.

Admitting then that to the Hellenic mind there was some primitive connection between water and the bull, the question arises whether that connection can furnish an adequate account of the intaglios above described.

To deal first with the Orvieto gem. Its main design is flanked by two palm-branches—the conventional abbreviation for a landscape background²⁵⁵

²⁵² *Œuvres*, ed. Schlumberger, vol. iii. p. 125; cp. vol. ii. p. 121.

²⁵³ Terra-cotta room, case 8.

²⁵⁴ Brit. Mus. Vase-room I. case 37.

²⁵⁵ Other exx. of this ideogram on bull-gems are, a lenticular crystal in the Brit. Mus. = Cat. No. 72, two bulls back to back with a palm-branch between them: a glandular haematite from the same collection = Cat. No. 74, a soldier driving off a couple of oxen, a tree-branch in the field: a fine specimen of rock-crystal from Ialysus (*Rev. Archéol.* for 1878, Pl. XX. No. 8) = Cat. No. 107, Pl. A, a bull

standing by a full-grown palm with a large shield between his legs. In fact, the bull and the palm-tree formed a fixed 'schema' in Mycenaean days. As with so many of the gem engravings, this device reappears among the coin-types of the fifth century B.C.—*e.g.* a didrachm of Mytilene (*Coins of the Ancients*, Pl. XI. No. 28) has two calves' heads face to face with a tree between them. Also a Nolan amphora in the Brit. Mus. (Lenormant and De Witte, *El. Cer.* ii. Pl. 54) shows a palm-tree disappearing behind a bull.

—and represents a human being with a girdle about his loins²⁵⁶ grasping by the horn two bovine figures. The nearest analogue to this strange composition will, I think, be found in contemporaneous pictures of the *ταυροκαθάψια*, a very ancient custom which is delineated on the following remains of Mycenaean manufacture:—

(1) A fragmentary fresco found at Tiryns. This ‘chef-d’œuvre of the wall-paintings,’ as Dr. Schuchhardt²⁵⁷ calls it, depicts a man in the scantiest garb, who with his right hand clutches the horn of a rushing bull; whether the artist intended to portray the man as actually on the animal’s back, or only on the far side of it,²⁵⁸ is uncertain.

(2) Two gold cups from the Vapheio tomb near Amyclae show scenes of bull-hunting and bull-taming, in which men take part who are ‘naked except for a thick projecting girdle, from which hangs a little apron both before and behind.’²⁵⁹ These cups obviously illustrate the same pursuit as that evidenced by the Tirynthian painting.²⁶⁰

(3) A green jasper²⁶¹ found at Mycenae in 1892 exhibits a man wearing a girdle only who has grasped by the horn and twisted backwards and downwards the head of a powerful-looking bull.

(4) A lenticular haematite in the British Museum, published by Mr. A. S. Murray in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1878,²⁶² shows a nude man in a much distorted position holding the horns of a bull.

(5) A similar haematite, also in the British Museum, published by Mr. Murray in the *Jahrbuch des k. d. Arch. Inst.* for 1890,²⁶³ represents a long-horned bull mastered by a couple of unclad men, who have seized it by the horns. One of the two, placed above the bull’s back, closely resembles the so-called ‘acrobat’ of the stucco from Tiryns.

(6) On a gem of somewhat later workmanship, previously drawn by Dr. Heydemann in the same Journal,²⁶⁴ a nude man in an almost horizontal position grasps with his right hand the horn of a bull: the field is occupied by a tree-branch, again a symbol of open-air scenery.

(7) A fragment of Achaean pottery from the excavations at Mycenae²⁶⁵

²⁵⁶ This ‘demi-nudité’ as characteristic of Mycenaean art is discussed by M. Perrot in the article referred to below.

²⁵⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 119. It forms the subject of an essay by F. Marx in the *Jahrbuch des k. d. Arch. Inst.* for 1889, vol. iv. pp. 119–129: by M. Mayer in the same periodical for 1892, vol. vii. pp. 72–81: and by G. B. Hussey in the *Am. J. of A.* 1893, pp. 374–80.

²⁵⁸ By a method of perspective not uncommon in early monuments, and known to occur on the Island stones, e.g. *Ἐφην.* *Ἀρχ.* 1888, Pl. 10, Nos. 34, 35, col. 178 = two lenticular gems from Mycenae with men in running posture above antelopes’ backs.

²⁵⁹ Dr. Paul Wolters, quoted by Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* p. 121.

²⁶⁰ The cups have been published in colour by M. Tsountas, *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1889, Pl. 9, coll. 159–163: and by M. Perrot in the *Bullet. de Corr. Hell.* 1891, vol. xv. Plates XI. XII. XIII. XIV. Cp. Appendix II. to Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* p. 350 ff.: and the *Jahrbuch des k. d. Arch. Inst.* for 1890, vol. v. p. 104 (*Anzeiger*).

²⁶¹ Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l’Art*, vol. vi. p. 843, Fig. 426, 24.

²⁶² Pl. XX. No. 7 (p. 202); *Cat. of Gems*, Pl. A, No. 75.

²⁶³ *Arch. Anzeiger*, p. 69. Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l’Art*, vol. vi. p. 851, Fig. 432, 12.

²⁶⁴ *Jahrbuch des k. d. Arch. Inst.* 1889, *Arch. Anzeiger*, p. 190.

²⁶⁵ Published *ibid.* 1892, p. 72.

repeats the motive. A bull, charging at full speed, has just tossed a man who falls through the air face uppermost. His head-dress is of a decidedly unconventional sort, being to all appearance made of lattice-work²⁶⁶ and ornamented with a pair of curved appendages that may be meant for imitations of the horns of a bull. But in view of the extremely decorative style of the design, it is difficult to pronounce upon details with any certainty.

(8) Finally, on part of a small round pyxis, discovered at Mycenae,²⁶⁷ a man with the same girdle and apron is seemingly tossed by the horns of a bull. In the absence of any contrary indication, this fragment may be classed with the preceding designs.

All the above representations have with great probability been referred to the *ταυροκαθάψια*, a ceremony possibly alluded to by Homer, *Il.* xx. 403-5:

ἤρυνγεν ὥς ὅτε ταῦρος
ἤρυνγεν ἐλκόμενος Ἑλικώνιον ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα
κούρων ἐλκόντων.²⁶⁸ γάννυται δέ τε τοῖς ἐνοσίχθων.

and certainly described by several authors of a much later date. Pliny, for instance, (*N. H.* viii. 182) says:—

‘Thessalorum gentis inventum est, equo iuxta quadrupedante, cornu intorta cervice tauros necare; primus id spectaculum dedit Romae Caesar dictator.’

and Vaillant remarked that his words explain the ‘taurus ferociens’ that appears on some of Caesar’s denarii.²⁶⁹ Again, Suetonius (*v. Claud.* c. 21) relates that Claudius Caesar renewed the experiment:—

‘praeterea Thessalos equites, qui feros tauros per spatia Circi agunt insiliuntque defessos et ad terram cornibus detrahunt.’

Dio Cassius (lxi. 9) adds that Nero followed suit:—

ἐν δέ τινι θέᾳ ἄνδρες ταύρους ἀπὸ ἵππου συμπαραθέοντες σφισι κατέστρεφον.

Later references to the same or similar forms of sport occur in Heliod. *Aethiop.* x. 30, and the *Anth. Pal.* ix. 543 (ed. Did.).²⁷⁰ These passages are quoted by Mayer and illustrated by a marble relief,²⁷¹ which bears the inscription *ταυροκαθαψίων ἡμέρα β’*.

Between Mycenaean and Roman times our evidence is confined to a few inscriptions, and the coin-types of Thessaly. On the currency of

²⁶⁶ Cp. Mr. A. G. Bather’s remarks in the *J. H. S.* vol. xiii. p. 252.

²⁶⁷ *Jahrbuch des k. d. Arch. Inst.* 1892, p. 80.

²⁶⁸ Hesych. Κερατεσσείς· οἱ τοὺς ταύρους ἐλκόντες ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων· καλοῦνται δὲ καὶ κεραελλεῖς.

²⁶⁹ Morell, *Thesaurus Num.* p. 213a, b. Tab. *Julia*, vi. 3.

²⁷⁰ The ref. to Heliod. and the *Anth. Pal.* are given by L. and S. s.v. *ταυρελάτης*.

²⁷¹ Chandler, *Marm. Oxon.* (1763) ii. 58, 4. Boeckh, *C. I. G.* vol. ii. p. 740, No. 3212.

Larissa,²⁷² for example, (B.C. 480-430) there is a nude 'Thessalian youth restraining a bull,' which he holds by the horns: and on that of Crannon²⁷³ (B.C. 480-400) a 'naked Thessalian subduing bull'—the struggle being here more marked. These coins²⁷⁴ in some respects approach more nearly to the primitive custom than the spectacular displays of Rome: for, whereas in the latter the huntsmen rode on horseback and were presumably clad, the coins of Thessaly 'show an unclad combatant tackling the bull on foot.' Extant inscriptions prove the existence of the rite at Aphrodisias (Boeckh, *C. I. G.* vol. ii. p. 1109, No. 2759b), Smyrna (*ib.* p. 740, No. 3212), Ancyra (vol. iii. p. 88, No. 4039, line 46), and Sinope (*ib.* p. 119, No. 4157).

On the whole, we have adequate evidence for the assertion that (a) up to and even during the Christian era this practice of *ταυροκαθάψια* obtained among the Thessalians; and that (β) it can be traced back into the earliest period of Aegean history, when—to judge from the provenance of our data—it prevailed over a much wider area.

But how does this bear on the bull as emblem of the water-god? By way of answer I may quote Mr. Head's *Historia Numorum*, p. 246: 'Poseidon,' he writes, 'was very generally revered in Thessaly as the creator of the national soil, as well as of the celebrated Thessalian horses which grazed in the rich alluvial plains...As Poseidon *ταύρεος* (Preller, *Gr. Myth.* i. 446) games were held in his honour, in which the youth of Thessaly exhibited their skill in seizing wild bulls by the horns...These peculiarly national religious festivals were called *ταύρεια* (Preller, *l.c.* note 1) and *ταυροκαθάψια*, and their prevalence throughout the land is amply proved by the coins, on which we see a Thessalian youth pulling down a raging bull, while on the reverse is usually the horse of Poseidon.'

The *ταυροκαθάψια*, then, constituted a religious or semi-religious rite, which took place in honour of Poseidon Taureos. If, bearing this in mind, we return to a consideration of our Orvieto gem, its meaning is no longer enigmatic. The two bovine figures dressed in bulls' hides and carrying oenochoes in human hands are representatives of the bull-god Poseidon. That they could be portrayed with the legs of bulls, implies that they were themselves called *ταῦροι*:²⁷⁵ and most fortunately Athenaeus (425 C) has preserved a record of the fact—

²⁷² Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 254, Fig. 175.

²⁷³ Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 250.

²⁷⁴ The coins of Catana (figured in the *Jahrbuch des k. d. Arch. Inst.* for 1889, p. 119), which show 'a man-headed bull with a figure surprisingly like the acrobat of Tiryns on its back' (Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* p. 120), have been otherwise explained by Miss E. Sellers, who points out that the river-god is a mere badge, not an integral part of the design.

²⁷⁵ If Mt. Taurus on the coins of Tauromenium is regularly denoted by a bull; and if even the

Roman gens Thoria could adopt the same 'type parlant'; surely these human *ταῦροι*, of whom Athenaeus speaks, might well be depicted as actual oxen, while at the same time their ritual garb was retained to distinguish them from ordinary cattle. I conceive that, so far as artistic representation is concerned, they furnish an exact parallel to the leonine *ὑδροφόροι* on the Cyprian bowl. Those who performed the *λεοντικά* were called *λέοντες* and portrayed as lions: those who danced the *ἀρκτεία* were known as *ἄρκτοι* and dedicated statuettes of bears: those

παρὰ δὲ Ἐφεσίοις οἱ οἶνοχοοῦντες ἡῖθεοι τῇ τοῦ
Ποσειδῶνος ἑορτῇ ταῦροι ἐκαλοῦντο· ὡς Ἀμερίας φησὶν.

The details of this Ephesian cult, though not fully known, seem to have resembled those of the ταυροκαθάψια. Artemidorus (*Oneirocr.* i. 8) observes:—

ταύροις δὲ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ παῖδες
Ἐφεσίων ἀγωνίζονται. καὶ ἐν Ἀττικῇ παρὰ ταῖς θεαῖς ἐν Ἐλευσίνι
‘κούροι Ἀθηναίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν.’ καὶ ἐν Λαρίσση πόλει
Θεσσαλίας οἱ τῶν κατοικούντων εὐγενέστατοι· ἐν δὲ τῇ ἄλλῃ οἰκουμένην
τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ κατακριθεῖσι συμβαίνει.

Similarly on the Orvieto gem, the athlete grasping by the horn each representative of the divine ταῦρος probably denotes an actual custom. Is it rash to conjecture that both here, and wherever the ταυροκαθάψια are found, we have a primitive religious rite intended to symbolize, if not to secure, man's mastery over the waters of Poseidon?

With regard to the second gem, the serpentine from Crete, I should not hesitate to refer it to the same cult, were it not for the presence of the goat-garb in addition to that of the bull. The two animals would hardly have been combined on a single stone, if the respective rituals which they imply had been wholly independent. And, since Poseidon Taureos was never, so far as we know, represented by a goat, we are driven to seek some explanation of the bull that will account for the simultaneous appearance of the goat. Now the genealogy given above associated the former animal in Crete not only with Poseidon but also with Zeus—Zeus Kretagenes as the coins call him.²⁷⁶ It was the bull-Zeus who wedded Io, begat Epaphos, and carried off Europa. And we observed that this last occurrence was intimately connected with the sacred plane-tree at Gortys, which in memory of the event was ever-green. Whether this connection between the Cretan bull and vegetation is accidental or essential cannot be decided off-hand. It is known that Demeter among the Boeotians was worshipped as Tauropolos.²⁷⁷ It has been proved, too, by Mr. Frazer that Dionysus was often conceived as a bull,²⁷⁸ and that his bull-form is ‘an expression of his proper character as a deity of vegetation.’²⁷⁹ But Demeter and Dionysus are not the Cretan Zeus, and parity of reasoning is apt to deceive.

There was, however, an interesting ceremony yearly performed on the Athenian Akropolis under the name of Bouphonia or Diipolia, which may serve to establish our connection. The custom, we are told, was introduced

who took part in the ταύρεια (= ταυροκαθάψια, Hesych. s.v. Ταύρια) were named ταῦροι and represented as we see.

For other exx. of religious mummery at Ephesus see Hicks, *Anc. Gr. Inserr. in the Brit. Mus.* Pt. iii. p. 80.

²⁷⁶ Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 382.

²⁷⁷ See L. Preller, *Griech. Myth.* vol. i. p. 634, n. 1: *C.I.G. (G.S.)* no. 2793.

²⁷⁸ *Golden Bough*, vol. i. pp. 325-6.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 38, 43.

by an alien called Sopatros, who having murdered an ox had fled to Crete, and could only be induced to quit that island on the assurance of the Athenians that they would become partakers of his guilt. From this we may perhaps infer that the practice thus instituted was originally a Cretan one. Moreover, the name *Diipolia* suggests that the ox represented Zeus; and Zeus as a god of vegetation; for the details of the ritual indicate that the ox which tasted the barley-cakes was in all probability 'viewed as the corn-deity taking possession of his own.'²⁸⁰

If this be so, we have on the one hand the legend of the Gortynian plane and on the other the ritual of the Diipolia as evidence that the Cretan bull-Zeus symbolized vegetation. The evidence, though by no means conclusive, may be provisionally accepted for what it is worth.²⁸¹

We next note the fact that the goat as well as the bull was a recognized emblem of Zeus Kretagenes.²⁸² According to Hesiod, *Theog.* 484, the infant Zeus was hidden *Αἰγαίῳ ἐν ὄρει*, and tradition told how he had been nourished by the divine goat Amaltheia:—

‘Huic fuit haedorum mater formosa duorum,
Inter Dictaeos conspicienda greges,
Cornibus aeriis atque in sua terga recurvis;
Ubere, quod nutrix posset habere Iovis.’

Ov. *Fast.* v. 117 ff.

In memory of this tutelage the moneys of several Cretan towns regularly employed the forepart of a goat as their device.²⁸³ Thirdly, it is just possible that the notched shield²⁸⁴ between the legs of the goat-man indicates an orgiastic dance in armour, such as was said to have been performed by the Curetes to drown the cries of the infant Zeus.

Putting these stray hints together, I infer as probable, though far from certain, that the second gem represents a mimetic dance by two worshippers of Zeus Kretagenes, one clad in a bull's skin, the other in a goat's skin.²⁸⁵ That such religious mummeries were actually in vogue among the Cretans is proved by a marble slab to be noticed later on.

Whether the third gem, the *τέρας* from Mycenae, illustrates the cult of Poseidon Taureos, or that of Zeus Kretagenes, or again some further

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 40.

²⁸¹ Coins of Rhosus, on the gulf of Issus, show a deity 'standing on base placed between two bulls: his head is horned and he holds a fulmen and an ear of corn,' Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 661. This description would suit a bull-Zeus as a vegetation-god.

²⁸² Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 382.

²⁸³ See for exx. the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1889, Pl. 12, Nos. 10 and 11: Pl. 13, Nos. 6 and 7, 10 and 11.

²⁸⁴ This is sometimes described as 'an open oyster'! But the occurrence of a similar shield

on the bull-gem from Ialysus (p. 126, n. 255), and a haematite in the Brit. Mus. (Cat. No. 74 'two drilled holes united by a groove . . . and lines of uncertain meaning'), which shows a soldier driving off a pair of oxen, makes it certain that a shield is intended. See Mr. A. J. Evans in the last number of this *Journal*, p. 215, n. 43a.

²⁸⁵ It is also conceivable that the 'schema' of this gem is intended to portray *one* man with an alternative disguise. In that case it would be a variation of the compendious type exhibited by the lion-legged asses.

form of bull-worship, we are not in a position to decide. Nor can we determine the precise significance of the bull-headed statuettes and masks which we have catalogued. But that in Mycenaean times bull-worship was still active, and active in more forms than one, has—I think—been adequately proved.

Before leaving the subject, there is one side-issue which merits attention. We have seen reason to suppose that Herakles was the humanized product of a lion-cult, and that Hera in theriomorphic guise was a sacred cow. Between these two deities tradition recognized a constant antagonism. Herakles appears in Greek literature as *βοθολίης*, *βουφάγος*, *βουζύγης*, *ταυροφόνος*; and *βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη* was said to have been 'his foe through life.'²⁸⁶ It is not improbable that this traditional hostility is but the mythopoeic version of the enmity which naturally subsists between the two animals,—an enmity illustrated by that most common of all scenes in Mycenaean art, the lion attacking the bull.

In favour of this are several ancient Etruscan monuments representing the Italian Hercules and Juno engaged in combat with club and sword:²⁸⁷ both are clad in the hides of animals—Hercules wearing the lion's skin, Juno the pelt of her Lanuvian goat.²⁸⁸

The same conception may also have regulated certain points in the Mithraic ceremonial. That the lion here played an important part, we have already learnt. Scarcely less important was the bull, which seems to have symbolized life. The Taurobolia²⁸⁹ or 'Baptism of Blood' became in later days a very wide-spread custom, extending even to Eleusis. According to M. Lajard,²⁹⁰ the mystics had to pass through some twelve degrees before attaining final fruition. Of these the first three were known as the Terrestrial Degrees and entitled (1) The Soldier, (2) The Lion, (3) The Bull. It is not impossible that this succession was due to the Mycenaean type of Lion at war with Bull. That the process was not the reverse, and that Mycenaean worship owed nothing to Mithras, is certain. As Mr. King remarked:²⁹¹ 'the complicated system of the Mithraici was evidently the creation of much later times, and of a religion vainly struggling for life.'

²⁸⁶ Dr. Fennell in the *Encycl. Brit.* s.v. 'Hercules.'

²⁸⁷ See Reifferscheid's essay in the *Annali dell' Instit.* for 1867, vol. xxxix. pp. 352–362, Pl. H, No. 1: and Micali, *Monumenti Inediti*, Pl. XXV. No. 5.

²⁸⁸ Cp. Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, i. No. 299b, c.

²⁸⁹ *The Gnostics and their Remains*, p. 154: Pauly, *Real-Encycl.* ed. 2, col. 594, s.v. 'Aemobolium.' A realistic picture of it is given in the *Marmora Taurinensia*, p. 25.

²⁹⁰ *Le Culte de Mithra*, passim.

²⁹¹ *The Gnostics and their Remains*, p. 155, note.

IV.—THE CULT OF THE STAG.

ἐλαφοὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐγένοντο.

ARISTOPH. *Nub* 354.

There is in the British Museum²⁹² a certain lenticular haematite, which bears a device described by Mr. A. H. Smith as a 'monster, with head and foreparts of stag, and with human legs, brought over its back so as to fill field.' This 'monster' offers, it will be seen, a close analogy to some



FIG. 17.

of the Island gems which we have already considered, and—if I am not mistaken—represents a human being wearing over his head and shoulders the foreparts of a stag. The girdle and the lappet of hide falling over the thighs tend to confirm this interpretation. The design is as usual carefully arranged so as to occupy the entire space; and there are two objects in the field which, though unnoticed in the official catalogue, may possibly bear on our subject. The object lying below the body of the stag is explained by the glandular haematite mentioned on page 131, note 284; in both cases the 'lines of uncertain meaning in the field' denote a spear-head, and here perhaps betoken the sacrificial character of the animal-man. There is also a straight cut resembling a tree-branch behind the human legs; but it is unfortunately arrested by a flaw in the stone. This is, so far as I am aware, the only representation of a stag in Mycenaean art which can claim a distinctly religious signification.²⁹³ But its claim is strong enough to justify us in reviewing such traces of stag-worship as may have survived into later times, in the hope of obtaining a clue to the meaning of our gem.

²⁹² *Cat. of Gems*, No. 70.

²⁹³ It is possible that some religious use was made of the *stag-vessel*, cast in an alloy of lead and silver, which was found in the largest shaft-grave at Mycenae (Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* p. 246). Du Cange mentions that it was

customary among the early Christians to have *cervi argentei* placed by the baptismal font (*Gloss.* vol. ii. p. 296 b). The British Museum (Vase-room I. case 37) possesses an aryballos from Nola or Vulci moulded in the form of a stag's head.

(1) Evidence with regard to the stag-cult of the Greeks²⁹⁴ is mainly associated with the name of Artemis Ἐλαφία or Ἐλαφιαία. Pausanias (VIII. xxxvii. 2) informs us that at Lykosoura this goddess was ἀμπεχομένη δέρμα ἐλάφου: and in another passage (VII. xviii. 7) gives the following description of the Laphria—a yearly festival, which the men of Patrai celebrated in her honour. ‘They set up logs of wood, still green and some sixteen cubits long, in a ring round the altar; inside upon the altar itself are laid the driest billets. Moreover, for the day of the festival they make smooth an ascent to the altar, covering the steps up to it with earth. The first ceremony is a splendid procession in honour of Artemis; behind it rides the sacred maiden (ἡ ἱερωμένη παρθένος) on a car drawn by a yoke of stags. From that moment till the day following the city and the citizens are busied with the sacrifices. They cast alive on to the altar edible birds and victims of all sorts, wild boars too and stags and gazelles; others add whelps of lions and bears, and others again full-grown wild beasts: they also place on the altar the fruit of tame trees. After this they kindle the wood. Hereupon I saw a bear and some other animal thrown to one side of the altar, partly by the first rush of the flames, partly by their own struggles to escape: they were, however, restored to the pyre once more by those who had originally cast them on. And the story goes that no man is injured by the beasts.’ In this custom ἡ ἱερωμένη παρθένος drawn by stags is an obvious incarnation of Elaphia herself; indeed, throughout the festival Artemis appears in Homeric guise as

τερπομένη κάπροισι καὶ ὠκείης ἐλάφοισι.

Odys. vi. 104.

Legendary tradition illustrates the same affinity. Actaeon, who surprised Artemis while bathing, was changed into a stag and so devoured by his own hounds. On a metope from Selinus this transformation is skilfully suggested by the head and hide of a stag, which Actaeon wears over his shoulders.²⁹⁵ In later bas-reliefs²⁹⁶ and paintings²⁹⁷ the antlers are already sprouting from his forehead. There is also the myth that Agamemnon once killed a stag in the grove of Artemis, in consequence of which crime the Greeks were detained at Aulis by contrary winds; the seer Calchas demanded the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, but the goddess at the critical moment substituted a stag for the maiden, whom she transported to the Tauric Chersonese as her future priestess. Again, it was Artemis who met

²⁹⁴ For Semitic custom see *The Religion of the Semites*, pp. 390, 447—‘In certain rituals we find the stag or gazelle as an exceptional sacrifice. The most notable case is the annual stag-sacrifice at Laodicea on the Phoenician coast, which was regarded as a substitute for a more ancient sacrifice of a maiden, and was offered to a goddess whom Porphyry calls Athena (*de Abst.* ii. 56), while Pausanias (III.

xvi. 8) identifies her with the Brauronian Artemis, and supposes that the cult was introduced by Seleucus.’

²⁹⁵ Roscher, *Lex.* col. 215.

²⁹⁶ Inghirami, *Monumenti Etruschi*, vol. i. pt. ii. Pl. LXV. LXX.

²⁹⁷ Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. Ant.* vol. i. p. 53, fig. 86, a fresco from Pompeii.

Herakles when he returned to Eurystheus with the Cerynean stag. This stag—according to Pindar, *Ol.* iii. 29—was

χρυσόκερων²⁹⁸ ἔλαφον θήλειαν... ἄν ποτε Ταῦγέτα
ἀντιθεῖς Ὀρθωσίᾳ ἔγραψεν ἱράν.

But the Vatican scholiast *ad loc.* remarks: 'Taygete, daughter of Atlas and Pleione, was herself turned into a stag by Artemis in order to escape the importunities of Zeus.' Finally, Euripides (*Helen.* 381 ff.) tells a similar tale about Cos, the daughter of King Merops:—

ἄν τε ποτ' Ἄρτεμις ἐξεχορεύσατο,
χρυσοκέρατ' ἔλαφον, Μέροπος Τιτανίδα κούραν,
καλλοσύνας ἔνεκεν.

The testimony of legend is supported by that of language. A constant epithet of Artemis is ἐλαφηβόλος or ἐλαφοκτόνος. Now Mr. Frazer observes 'that wherever a god is described as the eater of a particular animal, the animal in question was originally nothing but the god himself,' and that 'divine titles derived from killing animals are probably to be similarly explained.'²⁹⁹ It may therefore be surmised that Artemis herself was sometimes conceived as a stag, her ministrants being credited with the same shape. To celebrate stag-rites the Phocians held their festival of the Ἐλαφηβόλια,³⁰⁰ about which Plutarch³⁰¹ says that 'the greatest of all their festivals is the Elaphebolia which they still keep in honour of Artemis at Hyampolis.' At this festival flat-cakes were offered, made of dough, sesame, and honey, and moulded into the shape of stags.³⁰² At Athens too in the month Elaphebolion deer were sacrificed to Artemis in her character of Elaphebolos.³⁰³

As regards the traces which this stag-cult has left on Greek art, the representation that most nearly resembles our Island stone is a vase-painting drawn in Gerhard's *Griechische Vasenbilder* (vol. i. Pl. 89). It shows one side of a red-figured crater. In the centre stands a draped female figure bearing a wreath in her left hand and a sprig in her right, which she raises in a supplicating manner toward a youth who advances from the left. Her face is concealed beneath a curious mask shaped like a stag's head with long branching antlers; the neck is covered with spots (or air-holes?). The young man on the left holds a sharp sickle or sacrificial knife in one

²⁹⁸ Apollodorus too (*II.* v. 3) remarks: ἦν δὲ ἡ ἔλαφος ἐν Οἰνῷ, χρυσόκερως, Ἀρτέμιδος ἱέρα. The golden horns (Callim. *h. in Dian.* 102; Pollux v. 76, *alibi*: in the case of *oenan*, see p. 122: *Dionysus*, *Anth. Pal.* ix. 524, 23; Hor. *Od.* II. xix. 29: *Pan*, Cratin. in *Etym.* p. 183, 42) denote the animal-god.

²⁹⁹ *The Golden Bough*, vol. i. p. 328 and note. ἐλαφηβόλος occurs as epithet of Artemis in Plut. *Mor.* 966A: *h. Hom. in Dian.* 2: *h. Orph.* 35, 10: Artemid. ii. 35, p. 203: Soph.

Trach. 214: *alibi.* ἐλαφοκτόνος in Eur. *I. T.* 1113: Apollon. *de adv.* p. 602, 22.

³⁰⁰ Hence the name of the month Ἐλαφηβολίων, which in Elis was known as Ἐλάφιος: cp. Paus. VI. xx. 1, and V. xiii. 11. According to Io. Malalas, p. 345, 19 the Byzantine form τὸ Ἐλάφιον was even in his day the name of a street near the temple of Artemis.

³⁰¹ Plut. *de virt. mul.* 244 D, cp. 660 D.

³⁰² Athen. 646 E: Eustath. *Od.* p. 1652, § 56.

³⁰³ Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 249, 7.

hand; and in the other a sort of wallet which, to judge from analogy, is intended to receive the victim's head,—with it should be compared the portable cases on the handles of Cesnola's bowl (page 103). Beyond this group upon a square base stands a second female figure, winged and with averted looks, bearing a wreath and a ribband in her hands. The field is occupied by a fillet.

This vase-painting Milchhöfer interprets as 'the (equine) Gorgon holding flowers before Perseus, who bears a harpē.' Enthusiasm for the horse is not to be disconcerted by a pair of long antlers! I would suggest that it depicts the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, who either wears the stag's mask of the Artemis cult, or is already being metamorphosed by the goddess into a stag. The youth on the left will then be one of the ἔκκριτοι νεανίαι (Eur. *Hec.* 525) employed on such occasions,³⁰⁴ and the winged Nike with sorrowful eyes will hint at the victory dearly purchased by a sacrifice like this. In any case I conceive that we have here a clear reminiscence of the stag-cult in post-Homeric times.

On the frieze from the temple of Apollo at Phigaleia we find Artemis driving a chariot drawn by a couple of stags.³⁰⁵ In later art, for example in the famous 'Diana of Versailles,' she is not unfrequently accompanied by a stag. Several types are known from a numerous collection of terra-cottas discovered in one of her precincts, and published by M. Henri Lechat.³⁰⁶ A bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius, figured by Roscher,³⁰⁷ represents her holding a stag by the horn; and on two coins, drawn by Spanhem,³⁰⁸ she rides the same animal and is borne by a team of them, ἐξομένη κεμάδων τετράζυγι δίφρῳ (Nonn. *Dion.* 48, 450). Again, on the Hermannstadt statue of Hecate the stag appears as a sacrificial victim.

(2) Nor is it only Artemis who is associated with the stag. The νεβρός, that is the young of the ἔλαφος, was especially sacred to Dionysus. He is called νεβριδόπεπλος,³⁰⁹ νεβριδόστολος,³¹⁰ or νεβρώδης,³¹¹ and Nonnos³¹² tells us that—

νεβροχίτων Διόνυσος ὁμοῖος ἔπλετο νεβρῷ.

His votaries too were arrayed in the fawn-skin,³¹³—see black- and red-figured vases *passim*.

The epithet νεβροκτόνος, applied by the scholiast on Callim. *h. in Dian.* 190 (ἐλλοφόνον, Βριτόμαρτιν, εὔσκοπον, κ.τ.λ.) to Artemis, furnishes a link between the cult of the ἔλαφος and that of the νεβρός. Ἐλλοφόνος itself

³⁰⁴ His type is very possibly modelled on that of the conventional Perseus.

³⁰⁵ *Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Greek Sculpture*, vol. i. p. 280. Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. Pl. 42.

³⁰⁶ *Bullet. de Corr. Hell.* 1891, vol. xv. p. 83.

³⁰⁷ *Lec.* col. 606.

³⁰⁸ *ad* Callim. *h. in Dian.* 106 (ed. 1697, pp. 207-8).

³⁰⁹ *Anth. Pal.* ix. 524, 14.

³¹⁰ *h. Orph.* 51, 10.

³¹¹ *Anth. Pal.* ix. 524, 14.

³¹² Nonn. *Dion.* xxvi. 28.

³¹³ Cp. Dem. 313, 16, τὴν μὲν νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελομένους, and the authorities quoted by Dr. Sandys on Eur. *Bacch.* 24.

conveys the same meaning, since ἔλλος according to Hesychius is τὸ ἔκγονον τῆς ἐλάφου νεογνόν, ὁ νεβρός.

(3) Lastly, it will be remembered that on Mount Lukaïos in Arcadia there was an Abaton—or σήκωμα as Euripides (*El.* 1274) terms it—into which no man was allowed to enter, on pain of death within a twelvemonth.³¹⁴ This stringent rule seems to have undergone some modification; for Plutarch³¹⁵ states that voluntary transgressors were stoned by the Arcadians, but that those who erred unwittingly were sent to Eleutherae. Local report affirmed that all who trod this sacred ground, whether men or beasts, lost their shadows:³¹⁶ and Plutarch adds that any man who entered the grove was called an ἔλαφος.

Qu. Gr. 39, p. 300 C. καὶ γὰρ ἔλαφος ὁ ἐμβὰς καλεῖται. Διὸ καὶ Κανθαρίωνα τὸν Ἀρκάδα πρὸς Ἡλείους αὐτομολήσαντα πολεμοῦντας Ἀρκάσι καὶ διαβάντα μετὰ λείας τὸ ἄβατον, καταλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου φυγόντα εἰς Σπάρτην, ἐξέδοσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς Ἀρκάσι τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος ἀποδίδοναι τὸν ἔλαφον.

The explanation of these singular superstitions seems to be that the precinct was once the sacred haunt of a wolf-god. All rash intruders would be regarded as the natural prey of this fierce deity, and slain as offerings to him under the name of 'stags.' They were said to lose their shadows (*i.e.* souls) and die the death. It is known at least that human victims were until a comparatively late date sacrificed at the altar of Zeus Lukaïos. Lobeck (*Aglaophamus* ii. 895, note n.) has somewhat misrepresented the facts, though his interpretation is correct: he states—

'adytum ingressos, nisi aufugissent, immolatos, *fugitivos ἐλάφους* appellatos esse, quod deus loci inquilinus eos ceu cervum lupus insectari fingeretur.'

He was, I suppose, attracted by Festus' remark that runaway slaves were known as 'cervi,' and perhaps also by the proverbial phrase Ἐλάφειος ἀνὴρ applied to cowards.³¹⁷

Which of the three cults thus reviewed is illustrated by our Mycenaean gem? Probably not the Dionysiac rite: because its initiates wore *fawn*-skins, and the intaglio shows a full-grown *stag*. In favour of Artemis is the vase-painting which represents Iphigeneia with a somewhat similar stag's head and horns. But the balance of probability inclines, I think, towards the ritual on Mount Lukaïos. For, on the one hand, we know that the devotees of the deity there worshipped were called ἔλαφοι; and, on the other hand, the animal-cults already examined lead us to suppose that a man wearing the *προτομή* of a stag, as we see him here, is likely to bear

³¹⁴ Paus. VIII. xxxviii. 6.

³¹⁵ *Quaest. Graec.* 39, p. 300 A.

³¹⁶ See Immerwahr, *Die Kulte und Mythen Arkadiens*, vol. i. pp. 8–9.

³¹⁷ Suidas, s.v. ἐλάφειον: Zenob. iii. 66;

Hom. *Il.* i. 225, xiii. 102; Aristoph. *Nub.* 354.

the name of ἔλαφος himself. Again, the spear-head—which on the Island stones is often a conventional symbol for death—may refer to the local practice of human sacrifice; and the tree-branch conceivably indicates the hallowed grove. But if it is impossible to determine with confidence the precise *rapport* of the gem in question, it will hardly be denied that it represents a stag-worshipper of some sort dressed in his ceremonial attire.

V.—THE CULT OF THE HORSE.

Ἴππομόρφω μὲν δύο τινὲ εἶδη, ἡνιοχικὸν δὲ εἶδος τρίτον.

PLATO, *Phaedrus*, 253 D.

We come now to the horse, the main topic of Milchhöfer's chapter on 'Inselsteine.' Of the seven gems which he quotes as illustrative of this animal I am unable to detect it upon more than two. The first (Fig. 18) is a



FIG. 18.



FIG. 19.

lenticular rock-crystal found at Phigaleia and now preserved in the Berlin collection.³¹⁸ Two upright figures with human arms face one another, dressed apparently in the skins and heads of horses. They wear the girdle with which we are already familiar, but seem oddly enough to have the legs of birds. Between them stands a nude man holding the lower jaw of each horse-head. The second (Fig. 19) is a lenticular pebble of verde antico from Crete, also in the Berlin Museum.³¹⁹ It agrees in several remarkable features with the former gem. An upright figure clothed in a horse's mask and skin—the latter being prolonged into a crest between the ears—wears the same girdle round the waist, and (an important point of resemblance) stands on the same bird-legs. On its right shoulder it bears a slaughtered stag; and the field is occupied by two stars and a tree-branch. The pose of the whole figure recalls both the Salonica gem (p. 106)=a lion dressed in a lion-skin carrying a dead ox, and also the lenticular chalcedony (p. 84)=an asinine figure supporting a slain goat.

The first of these Island stones came, I have said, from Phigaleia; and it is fortunate that Pausanias has a full description of the ancient worship

³¹⁸ Milchhöfer, *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 55, Fig. 44A: Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, Bk. iv. p. 683, Fig. 3.

³¹⁹ Milchhöfer, *op. cit.* p. 55, Fig. 44c: Overbeck, *op. cit.* p. 683, Fig. 1: Helbig, *Bullettino dell' Inst. Arch.*, 1875, p. 41.

which obtained in that town. His account is interesting, and I may be excused for quoting it at length, if I can show that the details which he gives put us on the right track for interpreting the curious symbolism of the above-mentioned gems. He writes (VIII. xlii.) as follows:—

‘The mountain Elaion is distant about thirty stadia from Phigaleia, and contains a cavern which is sacred to Demeter surnamed Melaina. Now as for the tale told by the men of Thelpusa concerning the wedlock of Poseidon and Demeter, the Phigaleians agree with them. Only, the latter hold that the offspring of Demeter was not a horse, but she whom the Arkadians name Despoina. For the rest, they say that, partly through anger against Poseidon, partly through grief at the rape of Persephone, she donned a black robe and entering this cavern did not show herself for a long time. So, when all the produce of the land was wasting away, and the human race suffered yet more heavily from famine, none of the gods knew where Demeter had bestowed herself. Pan, however, came to Arkadia, and went a-hunting now on one hill now on another: when he reached Elaion he there caught sight of Demeter, and discerned her form and the manner of her raiment. Zeus having heard the tidings from the lips of Pan sent the Moirai to Demeter. To their voice she hearkened, and relaxed her wrath and laid aside her sorrow. This is the cause which the Phigaleians allege to explain why they deemed the cave sacred to Demeter and set up therein a statue of wood. The following was the fashion of their statue. It was seated upon a rock and except for the head resembled a woman. It had the head and the mane of a horse, forms of snakes and other wild animals being attached thereto: it was robed in a chiton reaching to the feet: a dolphin rested upon one of its hands, and the bird on the other was a dove. The reason for which they made the image thus is clear to any one of intelligence and a turn for archaeology.’ Pausanias then goes on to narrate that in some unknown way this ancient statue had been burnt. The Phigaleians neglected to restore it and the cult fell into desuetude, till another famine came upon the land and the Delphic oracle advised them to return to the worship *ἱππολεχοῦς* *Δηοῦς*. They thereupon induced Onatas, the Aeginetan sculptor, to make them a fresh statue; and he made a bronze *ἄγαλμα* on the model of the ancient *ξόανον*. ‘It was mainly for the sake of this Demeter’—continues Pausanias—‘that I came to Phigaleia, and following the custom of the inhabitants made no burnt-offering to the goddess; for they place upon the altar that is before the cave the fruits of tame trees, in particular of the vine, and honeycombs and unused wool which still retains its *οἶσυνπος*; and having placed these there they pour olive oil upon them. These rites are performed both by private persons and in public every year by the Phigaleians. The performant is a priestess, and with her the youngest of the so-called *ἱεροθύται*, who are three of the citizens. There is a grove of oak-trees about the cave, and cold water wells up from a spring. The statue made by Onatas was no longer extant at the time of my visit.’

Pausanias’ allusion to the legend of Thelpusa is explained by his words in VIII. xxv. 4 ff.:—‘Passing Thelpusa the river Ladon flows to the temple

of Demeter at Onkeion. The Thelpusians name the goddess Erinys; and with them agrees Antimachos in his poem describing the Argive attack on Thebes; his verse runs thus—

“There they say is the shrine of Demeter Erinys.”

Onkos is reported to have been a son of Apollo, and lord over the Thelpusian territory near Onkeion. But, however that may be, the goddess has the surname Erinys. For when Demeter was wandering in search of her daughter, it is said that Poseidon courted her; and that she, turning into a mare, pastured with the mares of Onkos. Poseidon, perceiving that he was the victim of guile, changed *his* form into that of a horse, and met Demeter. At first Demeter was provoked at the deed, but after a while she ceased from her anger; and they tell how she was minded to bathe in the Ladon. Hence came the goddess' titles; Erinys on account of her wrath, because the Arkadians say *ἐρινύειν* for ‘to be angry’; and Lousia because she bathed in the Ladon. The temple-statues are wooden, their faces hands and feet being of Parian marble. The statue of Erinys holds what is called the *κίστη* and a torch in its right hand; I should conjecture that it was some nine feet high. The height of the Lousia appeared to be about three feet less: those who hold that this statue represents Themis and not Demeter Lousia may be sure that they are at fault. Further, they tell that Demeter bore to Poseidon a daughter whose name they will not declare to the uninitiated, and also the horse Areion; on which account they were the first of the Arkadians to give Poseidon the title of Hippios. As proof of this they cite verses from the *Iliad* and the *Thebaid*. In the *Iliad* occurs this mention of Areion:

“Not even if he drave goodly Areion,
Adraistos' swift steed, who was of birth divine.”

And in the *Thebaid*, when Adraistos fled from Thebes—

“Gloomy raiment he wore, with Areion of the raven hair.”

The verses hint, then, that Poseidon was the father of Areion. Antimachos, however, says that Areion was the child of Earth:

“Adraistos son of Talaos son of Kretheus was the first of the Danaäns who became famous by driving his steeds, swift Kairos and Areion of Thelpusa, whom Earth herself sent up hard by the grove of Apollo Onkaïos, a marvel for mortal eyes.”

But even if the horse did spring from the earth, his race might still be considered divine, and his hair of a dark colour. The following tale is also told: that Herakles when warring against the Eleans begged the horse Areion from Onkos, and thus riding upon him captured Elis; and that subsequently the steed was given to Adraistos by Herakles. Hence Antimachos wrote of Areion—

“Who was once tamed by King Adraistos, after serving two chieftains.”

So far Pausanias: the gist of his twofold version may be put thus—

(1) The Phigaleians worshipped Demeter Melaina in a cavern near their town. This *κρυπτήριον ἄντρον*, as the Pythia termed it, contained an old cultus statue with a horse's head.

(2) The Thelpusians recognized a shrine of Demeter Erinys at Onkeion, where her statue held a torch in its right hand.

(3) The inhabitants of both localities agreed in stating that Demeter as a mare had been wooed by Poseidon as a stallion. From the union sprang Despoina (according to the Phigaleians), or a nameless daughter and the horse Areion (according to the Thelpusians).

It will be well to collect further evidence on each of these points with a view to discovering the significance of the equine form which characterizes the whole legend.

(1) The cave-cult of the horse-headed Demeter is corroborated by certain coin-types of the neighbourhood. There are specimens of Thelpusian mintage, which have been described as follows:—³²⁰

Obv. Head of Demeter, adorned with necklace *ending in horse's head*.

Rev. ΕΠΙΩΝ. The horse Arion, running, bridled.

And several Phigaleian moneys ³²¹ show the goddess veiled and clad in a *χιτὼν ποδήρης*.

(2) On other coins of Phigaleia ³²² Demeter holds a torch in either hand, and recalls Pausanias' account of the statue at Thelpusa. As Demeter Erinys she would naturally bear these symbols of the underworld. It is noticeable, too, that—just as the Phigaleian Demeter is clad in a black chiton—so Greek tradition makes the Erinys or the Erinyes—

μελάναιγίς. Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 699.

μέλαινα. Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 977.

φαιοχίτωνες. Aesch. *Cho.* 1049.

μελάγχρωτες. Eur. *Or.* 321.

χρῶτα κελαιναί. Eur. *El.* 1345.

In fact, there is every reason to suppose that both at Phigaleia and at Thelpusa Demeter was worshipped as a Chthonian goddess.

(3) This is borne out by her liaison with Poseidon Hippios. The two deities are more than once found together. It was at Poseidon's well that the women of Eleusis first danced and sang songs to Demeter.³²³ They were

³²⁰ Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner in the *J.H.S.* vol. vii. p. 106. Plate LXVIII. T. xxii. xxiii.; cp. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 382.

³²¹ Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner in the

J.H.S. vol. vii. p. 111. Plate LXVIII. V. xv.-xviii.

³²² Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *ibid.*

³²³ Paus. I. xxxviii. 6.

both associated with Athena (?Hippia) on the Sacred Way.³²⁴ Demeter Eukloos had a precinct of her own at Kolonos, the sacred hill of Poseidon Hippios.³²⁵ And Poseidon Hippios had a statue close to the temple of Demeter in the Kerameikos.³²⁶ The reason of their partnership is not far to seek. Poseidon's horse was, like himself,³²⁷ directly Chthonian in character: it came forth from the ground when its creator, in his contest with Athena, struck the Akropolis rock with his trident. What could be more natural, therefore, than that *the horse-Demeter a Chthonian goddess* should be united to *the horse-Poseidon a Chthonian god*, and that the offspring of their union should be *the horse-Areion 'whom Earth herself sent up, a marvel for mortal eyes'?*

In brief, the prominent figure throughout the Arkadian legend is the horse, and the horse as symbol of the nether world. If, then, the details of the Phigaleian gem are to be systematically investigated, we must proceed by examining somewhat narrowly the nature and functions of this animal.

The monumental evidence for its Chthonian office may be thus summarized:—

(α) A primitive tombstone relief (*circ.* 550—500 B.C.) found at Chrysapha³²⁸ represents the heroified dead on a lion-foot throne receiving oblations: the field is occupied by a trotting horse.

(β) On sepulchral monuments of the 'Early Attic' class the portrait of the deceased is often accompanied by the diminutive figure of a youth riding or leading a horse: this has sometimes³²⁹ been taken to denote 'the favourite pursuits or the knightly rank of the dead person.' Decorative stelai of a later date, which are to all appearance adorned with scenes from daily life, occasionally introduce figures of horsemen.

(γ) From the fourth century onwards, a horse's head appears looking through a window in a common³³⁰ type of relief known as the 'Sepulchral Banquet.' Another variety gives more prominence to the horse. The deceased 'hero' is seen either riding on or standing by a horse, while he receives a libation from an attendant female.³³¹

The meaning of these types has been, and still is, hotly contested. We shall probably be safe in concluding that on funeral monuments belonging to class (α) or class (γ) the horse symbolizes death; while on stelai of class (β)

³²⁴ Paus. I. xxxvii. 2.

³²⁵ Paus. I. xxx. 4: Soph. O.C. 1600.

³²⁶ Paus. I. ii. 4.

³²⁷ Poseidon was γαίηχος, ἐνσίχθων, and ἐννοσίγαιος.

³²⁸ Mitchell, *Hist. of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 207, Fig. 101 Roscher, *Lex.* col. 2570, Fig. 7; after the *Mittheilungen des Deut. Arch. Instit. in Athen.* vii. Taf. 7. See further A. Furtwängler, *ibid.* pp. 164–166.

³²⁹ E.g. by Mr. A. H. Smith (in the *Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Greek Sculpture*, vol. i. p. 295), who cites Arist. 'Αθ. Πολ. ch. 7, ed. Kenyon; *J.H.S.* vol. v. p. 114; Roscher, *Lex.* col. 2584; Conze, *Die Attischen Grabreliefs*, pt. i. p. 4, Nos. 1, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19.

³³⁰ See e.g. Roscher, *Lex.* col. 2571, Fig. 8.

³³¹ Furtwängler, *Coll. Sabouroff*, i. p. 40; Roscher, *Lex.* col. 2556.

it is either a mere reminiscence of earthly life, or at most illustrative of the Vergilian conception—

‘Quae gratia currum
 Armorumque fuit vivis, quae cura nitentis
 Pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos.’

Aen. vi. 653—5.

The superstition of a death-horse³³² was not confined to Greece. In Hindoo mythology, the mouth of hell is represented as a horse's head.³³³ And M. Reinach in his *Esquisses Archéologiques* (1888, p. 132) writes:

‘La présence du cheval dans les reliefs grecs funéraires se constate dans les œuvres étrusques de la même famille; en Étrurie plus clairement encore qu'en Grèce, le cheval paraît en rapport avec le monde des enfers.’

Turning from the monuments to literary sources, we again find the horse connected with Chthonian powers in general and Poseidon in particular. I would ask attention to a section of legendary genealogy that had won acceptance from the Greeks as early as the days of Hesiod.

Oceanus—the tradition ran—married Tethys, and among the numerous offspring of the marriage were several whose names have an interest for us; Electra, Hippo, Philyra, Polyphē, and Ladon.

To trace first the descendants of the Oceanid Electra. She wedded Thaumās, or as others said Typhon; and from the wedlock³³⁴ resulted a strange progeny of Harpies. Their number is uncertain, and their names vary; but probably we can distinguish Aello, Okupete, Kelaino and Podarge, with Iris as their sister. Here we are already confronted by the figure of the horse. For Milchhöfer conjectures that Iris was of equine form; and it seems certain that such was the nature primitively attributed to her sister Harpies. Homer, at any rate, in *Iliad* xvi. 150, tells how Xanthos and Balios, the horses of Achilles, were born of Zephyrus by the Harpy Podarge. The words *βοσκομένη λειμῶνι* used of the latter hint at a horse's shape. Moreover, the poet held the Harpies to be ‘only impersonations of the storm-winds,’³³⁵ as will be at once clear from a comparison of *Odyssey* xx. 66,

ὥς δ' ὅτε Πανδαρέου κόρας ἀνέλοντο θύελλαι,

with line 77, which refers to the same incident—

τόφρα δὲ τὰς κόρας ἄρπυιαι ἀνηρεΐψαντο,
 καί ῥ' ἔδοσαν στυγερῇσιν ἐρινύσιν ἀμφιπολεύειν.

And the assignment of a horse-form to the Winds is common enough. In the Delos akroterion for example, which depicts the rape of Oreithyia by

³³² In Theocritus, xv. 40, the baby is frightened by the words: *Μορμώ, δάκνει Ἰππός*. Does the word *ἵππος* here refer (like *Μορμώ*) to some goblin?

³³³ See De Gubernatis, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 333.

³³⁴ Acc. Servius on Verg. *Aen.* iii. 241, the

parents of the Harpies were Pontus (= Poseidon) and Terra (= Ge); the other version is, however, supported by Hesiod, Apollodoros, and Hyginus. In either case a marine origin is given.

³³⁵ Merry on Hom. *Odys.* xx. 77.

Boreas, we have a small galloping horse added as a symbol; and in *Iliad* xx. 221 ff. we are told of certain mares belonging to king Erichthonios (a by-name of Poseidon ³³⁶):—

τάων καὶ Βορέης ἡράσσατο βοσκομενίων,
ἵππῳ δ' εἰσάμενος παρελέξατο κυανοχαίτη·
αἱ δ' ὑποκυσάμεναι ἔτεκον δυοκαίδεκα πῶλους.
αἱ δ' ὅτε μὲν σκιρτῶεν ἐπὶ ζεῖδωρον ἄρουραν,
ἄκρον ἐπ' ἀνθερίκων καρπὸν θεόν οὐδὲ κατέκλων·
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ σκιρτῶεν ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης
ἄκρον ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνος ἁλὸς πολιοῖο θέεσκον.

The δυοκαίδεκα πῶλοι, who thus skim the cornfields and the sea, certainly denote the sweeping winds: and the epithets of sombre colour (κυανοχαίτης, Κελαίνω, and the like) may be indicative either of their *dark* Chthonian origin,³³⁷ or—and this I suggest as being more probable—of the *unseen* force of the winds themselves. To the early mind darkness and invisibility are much the same thing.³³⁸

To deal next with the branch of the family derived from the Oceanid Philyra. She was loved by Kronos who, the legend said, courted her under the form of a horse. To them was born the centaur Cheiron; and thus we are introduced to another remarkable relic of horse-worship, the θίασος ἵπποβάτας Κενταύρων (Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 1059). A variant legend made Cheiron the son, not of Kronos but of Kronos' son Poseidon, whose connection with the horse was well-established. Pindar ³³⁹ makes mention of ἵππάρχον Ποσειδάωνος, whom he elsewhere ³⁴⁰ calls ἵπποδρόμιος. Lycophron ³⁴¹ terms him ἵππηγέτης; and the tragedians ³⁴² in general know him as Ἴππιος. These titles are born out by several myths:

(a) Poseidon, as we have already seen, approached Demeter Erinys as a horse. It has been pointed out ³⁴³ that this Poseidon-and-Erinys myth appears also in Sanskrit story. According to the Rîgvedas, Vivasvat and Saranyû (= Erinys) in horse form gave birth to the Ásvins, twin horses or knights, who on Greek soil are represented by the Dioscuri. The Arkadian tale made the children of Poseidon Hippios and Demeter Erinys, Despoina and the horse Areion.

³³⁶ Miss Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments*, p. lix. ff.

³³⁷ Cp. Demeter's titles Μέλαινα and κυανό-πεπλος (*h. Hom. in Cer.* 320, 361, 375). Her wedlock with Poseidon, who is commonly κυανοχαίτης in both Homer (*Il.* xiii. 563, xiv. 390, xx. 144; *Od.* ix. 536) and Hesiod (*Theog.* 278), produced μέγαν ἵππον Ἀρείονα κυανοχαίτην (Hes. *Scut.* 120).

³³⁸ Cp. the Homeric phrases ἐκάλυψε δ' ἄρ'

ἥερι πολλῇ and ἥερα ἐσσαμένα.

³³⁹ *Pyth.* iv. 45.

³⁴⁰ *Isth.* i. 54.

³⁴¹ *Lyc.* 767.

³⁴² *E.g.* Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 130; Aristoph. *Eq.* 551, *Nub.* 83.

³⁴³ A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, vol. ii. p. 267; Milchhöfer, *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 64; Roscher, *Lex.* col. 1317.

(β) Poseidon *Κυανοχαίτης* had intercourse with the Medusa (herself possibly a horse-headed being³⁴⁴), by whom he begat Chrysaor and the winged horse Pegasus.

(γ) Poseidon became by Alope the parent of Hippothoon³⁴⁵ or Hippothoos, who was twice suckled by a mare.³⁴⁶

(δ) He also loved the daughter of Mestor and Lysidike, whose name Hippothoe proclaims her affinity.

Moreover (ε) Harpokration tells us that by the Oceanid Polyphē or Koryphē—for the name varies—Poseidon became the father of Athena Hippia :—

Ἰππία Ἀθηνᾶ Ἰσαίος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Καλυδῶνα. Μνασέας ἐν ᾧ Εὐρώπης τὴν Ἰππίαν Ἀθηνᾶν Ποσειδῶνος εἶναί φησι θυγατέρα καὶ Κορύφης τῆς Ὠκεάνου, ἄρμα δὲ πρώτην κατασκευάσασαν διὰ τοῦτο Ἰππίαν κεκλησθαι.³⁴⁷

Similarly Pausanias³⁴⁸ connects an altar of Athena Hippia with an altar of Poseidon Hippios, and Pindar (*Ol.* xiii. 80 ff.) mentions the two deities together,—*ὅταν δ' ἐὺρυσθενεῖ | καρταίποδ' ἀναρύη Γεαύχω, | θέμεν Ἰππία βωμὸν εὐθὺς Ἀθάνᾳ.*

Athena also bore the significant title of Chalinitis; and on one famous occasion received the offering of a *δουράτεος ἵππος*—probably an image of herself.³⁴⁹ Pausanias³⁵⁰ remarks that this title Chalinitis was adopted because ‘having tamed Pegasus she delivered him to Bellerophon, and placed the bridle on him with her own hands.’ Here again the horse seems to be emblematic of the sea. Bellerophon’s father Glaucus (a local appropriation of Glaucus the ocean-god³⁵¹) fed his mares on human flesh, and—according to one version of the legend—was devoured by them after they had been maddened by drinking of a sacred well at Potniae: as *Γλαῦκος Ταραξίππος* he was supposed to haunt the Isthmus of Corinth and frighten the horses during the races. Bellerophon himself was originally called Hipponoos, and was by some reputed to be the son of Poseidon: his own son was named Hippolochos.

Finally, Ladon, another child of Oceanus and Tethys, married the nymph Stymphalis, by whom he had three children—Daphne, Metope, and

³⁴⁴ Müller-Wieseler, *Denkm.* vol. i. No. 280, represent a relief from a black vase found near Chiusi, which—among a group of figures described by M. le duc de Luyne (*Annali dell' Institut.* vol. vi. 1834, p. 321) as ‘un sujet infernal’—introduces a horse-headed monster that Levezow interpreted as a sister of the Medusa.

³⁴⁵ Paus. I. xxxviii. 4. Miss Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments*, p. cix., desiderates ‘a bit of genuine Attic work’ as evidence of this eponymous hero. Is not the want supplied by the *Mon. dell' Inst.* 1866, vol. viii. Pl. XXXII. b, 263? = (*Annali dell' Inst.* vol. 38, 1866, p. 553) ‘*equa dm. stans puerum lactans*; in area superne noctua dm. stans; ante equam cala-

thus. In demo Attico Halimuntis repertus.’

³⁴⁶ Hygin. 187.

³⁴⁷ The tradition occurs elsewhere: see Dindorf *ad loc.* and Soph. *O.C.* 1070.

³⁴⁸ Paus. I. xxx. 4. In V. xv. 6, however, he couples it with an altar of Ares Hippios, and in VIII. xlvii. 1, he cites a second aetiological tale: when the Giants attacked the denizens of Olympus Athena drove her horse-car against Enceladus and won her name of Hippia.

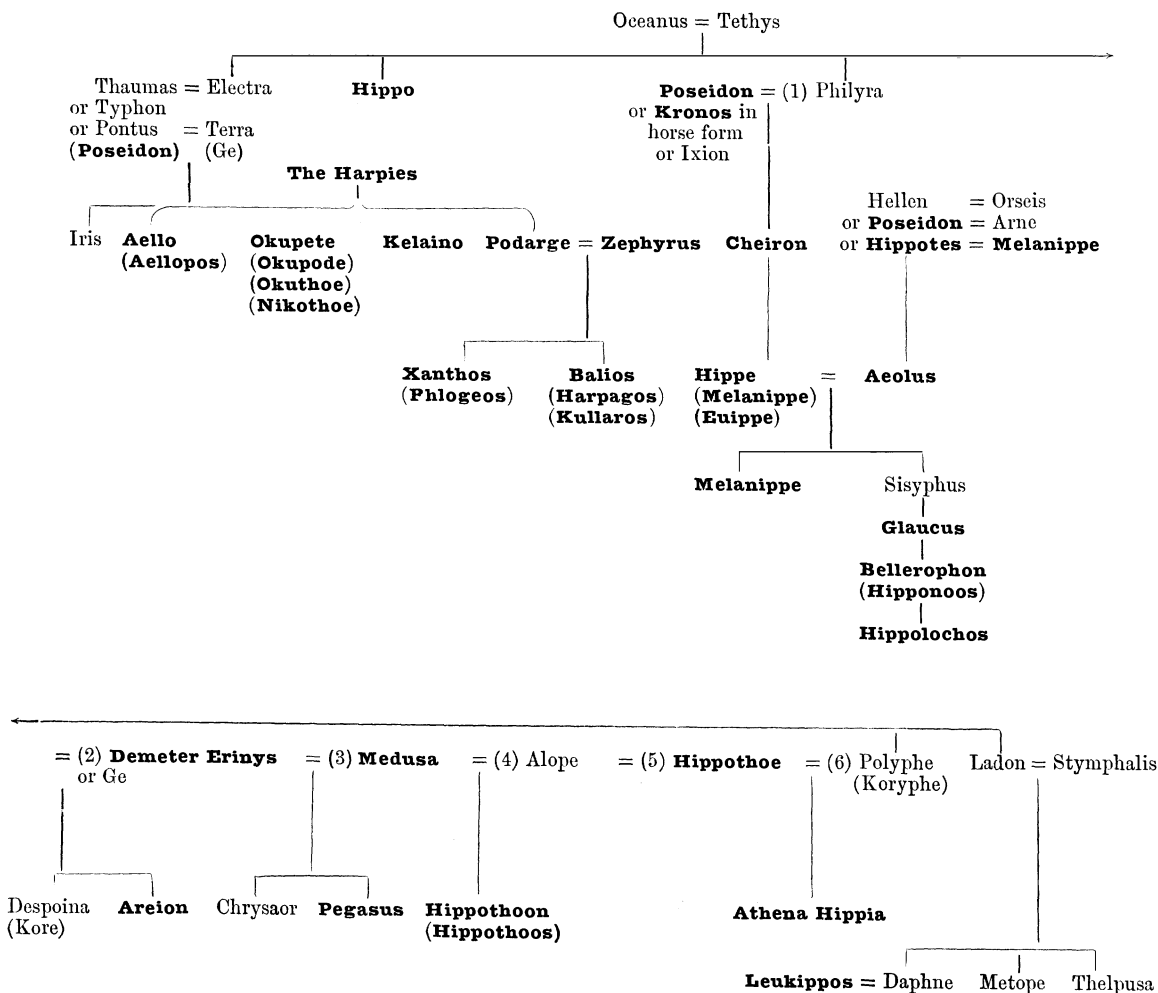
³⁴⁹ The wooden horse filled with human beings is perhaps a reminiscence of an actual rite; cp. *e.g.* the wicker images of the Druids.

³⁵⁰ Paus. II. iv. 1, Pind. *Ol.* xiii. 65.

³⁵¹ Roscher, *Lex.* coll. 758, 1689.

Thelpusa. The mention of Thelpusa taken in connection with Pausanias' story suggests some etymological meaning in the legend that Daphne was wooed by a prince called Leukippos.

Subjoined is a stemma that will help to rid my account of the confusion attendant upon genealogical minutiae. I have printed in Clarendon type the names of those persons whose relation to the horse is sufficiently obvious.



If we now ask ourselves: What light does this genealogy throw upon the horse that is so constantly figured in sepulchral scenes?—we recur to the conception of the Harpies who ‘snatched away the daughters of Pandarus and gave them to the keeping of the hateful Erinyes.’ The action was typical on the part of these primitive equine beings, who are looked upon as *ψυχοπομποί*,—swift unseen escorts of the departed soul.

Later art depicted the Harpies as winged females or even as birds, assimilating their type—as Mr. Cecil Smith³⁵² has shown—to that of the Sirens, who performed the same *rôle* in Hellenic legend. On the so-called ‘Harpy Tomb’ from Xanthos we see these ‘virgineas volucres’ (Ov. *Met.* vii. 4) with human arms and birds’ legs carrying off the diminutive dead. And a vase in the Berlin Museum³⁵³ represents a similar figure grasping two men by the wrists as it swoops through the air. Again, a Siren or a pair of Sirens—bird-forms with human heads and arms—furnished a frequent motive for Attic tomb-decoration. Sophokles’ grave was surmounted by one; and examples of the heraldic arrangement are numerous. The Sirens’ music has probably little reference to ‘the singing of the funeral dirge,’³⁵⁴ but rather recalls the piping of the wind across the waters. In short, Sirens as well as Harpies are Chthonian escorts of the dead, embodiments it may be of the viewless storm-wind sent to snatch the living from the upper air and convey them *στυγερῇσιν ἐρινύσιν ἀμφιπολεύειν*.

Having thus surveyed the nature and office of the Chthonian Horse, let us apply our results to the explanation of the Island stones. That these illustrate the Phigaleian cult, whose relations we have been examining, seems clear from several considerations. The first gem was found at Phigaleia itself; and the second derived from Crete, which according to Apollonius Rhodius³⁵⁵ was the home of the Harpies. Again, the figures garbed in horse-skin cloaks and wearing horses’ heads and manes aptly correspond to Pausanias’ description of the old cultus-statue at Phigaleia, which ‘had the head and mane of a horse...and was robed in a chiton reaching to its feet.’ The substitution of this black chiton for the black horse-skin is paralleled by the Brauronian cult, in which the goddess Artemis obtained the sobriquet Chitone from the chitons dedicated to her in lieu of bear-skins.

Two points still await solution: (1) the fantastic fusion of bird-legs with horse-heads, which reminds us of the oriental Hippalektruon;³⁵⁶ and (2) the character of the central figure on the Phigaleian gem.

(1) From what has gone before it seems plausible to suppose that the horse-forms have bird-legs because they are representatives of a power that was sometimes embodied as a horse, sometimes as a bird. The Harpies, originally conceived as horses, were in later times represented as birds. Nor need we be surprised that the two shapes are here combined.³⁵⁷ We have already discovered examples of this compendious symbolism, the horse with bird-legs being strictly analogous to the ass with lion-legs. This seems to me at any rate a more probable hypothesis than Milchhöfer’s view that the bird-legs

³⁵² *J.H.S.* vol. xiii. pp. 103–114.

³⁵³ Cat. No. 2157.

³⁵⁴ Mitchell, *op. cit.* p. 495.

³⁵⁵ Ap. Rhod. ii. 298.

³⁵⁶ Roscher, *Lex.* col. 2663, a b. f. vase = nude man riding on horse-headed Hippalektruon. Lucian, *V.H.* i. 13, speaks of *ἵππογέρανοι* and

ἱππόγυποι, but he means merely birds ridden as though they were horses.

³⁵⁷ The archaic statue at Phigaleia, while it retained the head and mane of a horse, bore the bird as a separate symbol in one hand. This was apparently mistaken for a dove (the emblem of wedlock) by Pausanias.

of the horses and the back-pieces of the other animals were borrowed from the locusts, which the forefathers of the Mycenaeans may have encountered in their wanderings. His argument that the horse originally denoted a cloud, and that the locust-band is the most dangerous of all clouds, is hardly convincing.

(2) The second point is less easy to determine. We have little to guide us except the similarity that subsists between the 'schema' of the Phigaleian horse-gem and that of the Orvieto bull-gem. The latter, which depicted a nude man grasping by the horn a pair of bulls, I took to denote the supremacy of the celebrant over the waters of Poseidon. And I am disposed to interpret the present device in like manner as a man obtaining the mastery over two equine figures symbolical of Chthonian power. Their tongues hanging out and the position of their arms indicate the struggle of some fierce monster, reluctant to be tamed. It is possible that the scene finds mythical expression in the stories of the horse Areion and the horse Pegasus. On the coins of Thelpusa (p. 141) the former was represented as bridled; and—in the words of Antimachos—he 'was once tamed by king Adrastus, after serving two chieftans.' The *χαλίνωσις* of the latter is well known. In any case I should interpret the *ἵπποκαθάψια* of the Phigaleian gem to denote the subjugation of death. In the nude man grasping two Chthonian beings I see the converse of the Berlin vase mentioned above, which showed a Chthonian being grasping two nude men.

As yet we have not raised the question whether these equine figures represent worshippers or the object of their worship. In favour of the former supposition is the general similarity of the present gem to others already examined, and in particular to the Orvieto stone on which it was obvious that the *ἡῖθεοι οἶνοχοοῦντες* of Poseidon's festival, who bore the title of *ταῦροι*, were portrayed as actual bulls. It is true that no record has been preserved of human *ἵπποι*,³⁵⁸ but then it was by the merest accident that Athenaeus mentioned the Ephesian cult, and in the present case the long cloak fastened by a girdle, as well as the human arms, point to a similar explanation.³⁵⁹

The occurrence of these human arms on a horse's body suggests a possible corroboration of my theory. Mionnet³⁶⁰ describes a coin of Gordianus Pius struck at Nikaia in Bithynia, the reverse of which has the legend *ΙΠΠΟΝ ΒΡΟΤΟΠΟΔΑ ΝΙΚΑΙΕΟΝ* and represents:—

'Héros à cheval, la tête couverte du bonnet phrygien, et tenant de la main droite une couronne; le cheval, dont les pieds de devant sont humains,

³⁵⁸ Pliny, iv. 95, speaks of certain fabulous islands 'in quibus equinis pedibus homines nascantur Hippopedes appellati.' Cp. Berosos, *Frag.* i. 4, ed. Müller.

³⁵⁹ There is a striking analogy between both these groups and that depicted on the Assyrian slab (p. [57]). In each case one human being is represented as taming or restraining two animal-figures. The lion-form, grasping his

jaw with his hand, bears a close resemblance to the action portrayed on our horse-gem. It is conceivable that the three *ἱερόθυται* mentioned by Pausanias (p. [92]) were wont to enact this scene—one taking the part of the *ἵπποδάμος*, the others being the *ἵπποι*.

³⁶⁰ Mionnet, *Médaillles Antiques*, Suppl. vol. v. Pl. I. p. 148.

tient dans le droit levé un bâton ou sceptre, autour duquel est un serpent, et sa queue repliée se termine par une tête de serpent ; une petite Victoire vole au-devant du héros pour le couronner.'

Mr. B. V. Head (*Hist. Num.* p. 443) reads the type somewhat differently :—

'Divinity riding on a horse whose right foreleg is formed like a human arm, which grasps the serpent-staff, and whose left foreleg ends in a human foot, the tail of the monster is a serpent ; this curious type has never been explained.'

To the same effect Drexler in Roscher's *Lex.* col. 2690 : 'Eine Erklärung des Typus ist noch nicht gefunden.'

Now Nikaea, as Mr. Head says, 'was built by Antigonus *circ.* B.C. 316 on the site of the ancient Ancore.' It is, then, possible and even probable that this unique type goes back to a primitive cult resembling that of the Phigaleian Demeter : indeed other coins of Nikaea bear the inscription ΘΕΑ ΔΗΜΗΤ. It will be remembered that the horse-head statue on Mt. Elaion had 'forms of snakes...attached thereto' : for the snake, like the horse, was a regular Chthonian animal. It occurs on the earliest funeral relief found at Sparta in the place occupied later by the horse ; and appears not unfrequently along with that animal in the 'Sepulchral Banquet.'³⁶¹ Further, the serpent twined round a staff is borne by 'Ερμῆς χθόνιος in his capacity of ψυχοπομπός. It would seem, therefore, that the Nikaeian horse, which grasps the serpent-staff and has a serpent for tail, must be identified with the Chthonian horse, the normal escort of the dead in their journey to the underworld. But the coin-type attributes human forearms to this animal, and moreover represents it as ridden by a man who bears a victor's wreath. This surely means that a human being symbolically portrayed as the Chthonian horse is subjugated to his rider.³⁶²

In short, I submit that we have here a collateral relic of the Phigaleian rite, in which men dressed in horses' skins and furnished forth with the emblems of death were overpowered by the celebrant,—the purpose of the performance being to secure by mimetic magic immunity from danger. The Cretan gem indicates that propitiatory offerings of slain beasts were made to the same equine daemon.

Finally, the subjugation of the Chthonian horse or rather of his human representative seems to have spread to the West as well as to the East. From a grave at Chiusi comes a platter of black ware, published in the *Annali dell' Institut.* for 1877.³⁶³ Inside the rim runs a design of which no solution has been forthcoming. On the left we have apparently a scene of rejoicing : one man plays the double-pipe, while two others prepare a

³⁶¹ See *e.g.* Fig. 100 in Mitchell, *Hist. of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 206, and Fig. 6 in Roscher, *Lex.* col. 2567.

³⁶² Is this the ultimate significance of Pind. *Ol.* xiii. 84 ff. ?—ἦτοι καὶ ὁ καρτερὸς δρμαίνων

ἔλε Βελλεροφόντας, | φάρμακον πραῦ τείνων ἀμφὶ γένυι, | ἵππον περὶεντ'· ἀναβὰς δ'εὐθὺς ἐνόπλια χαλκῶθεις ἔπαιζεν.

³⁶³ Vol. 49, Pl. U V, 8, p. 407.

sacrifice (?). Then comes *a male figure grasping by the ears a horse-headed man*, whose crouching attitude betokens submission or servitude. The remaining figures approach a seated personage, who is perhaps the heroified dead. The significance of the whole composition remains doubtful; but the central group—which bears a striking resemblance to the motive of the Phigaleian gem—may be provisionally interpreted as the ceremonial subjugation of a man wearing the mask of the Chthonian horse.

VI.—THE CULT OF THE GOAT.

ἀμφὶ πλευρῇσι δορὰς αἰγῶν κατέτριβον.—

THEOGNIS, 55.

The next cult to claim our attention is that of the goat. I have already referred to two gems which represent human beings clad in the *προτομή* of this animal. The first is a carnelian from Athens (p. 116): it shows a couple of men dressed as lion and goat respectively. The second is a porphyry from Crete (p. 120), on which a pair of human legs is combined with the forepart of a goat and the forepart of a bull: this design—as I tried to show—probably denotes two men in animal attire; between their legs is a notched shield. So far as I am aware, there is only one other Island stone which portrays the goat-man in a similar fashion. I allude to a serpentine from



FIG. 20.

Crete (Fig. 20), published by Otto Rossbach in the *Annali dell' Inst.* for 1885,³⁶⁴ on which is graved the forepart of a goat conjoined by means of a girdle ('una specie di anello') with the legs of a man, in much the same attitude as the 'monster' on the stag-gem previously described. The field is occupied by a star and a shield of the sort mentioned above.

The early prevalence of the goat-cult is deducible from the traces which it left in classical mythology. The principal indications may be grouped as follows:—

(1) *Athena* was worshipped in Attica as a goat-goddess. This is proved, partly by her aegis or goat-skin garb, partly by the fact that the goat being her especial *protégé* was never sacrificed to her.³⁶⁵ That the primitive inhabitants of Attica should have worshipped the goat appears very natural, when we reflect that one whole division or caste of the population was

³⁶⁴ Vol. 57, Pl. G H, No. 6; Maxime Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculp. Gr.* p. 57, Fig. 34.

³⁶⁵ Athen. 587 A.

composed of goatherds (Αἰγικορῆς), whose importance is attested by many local names (Αἰγίς, Αἴγυα, Αἰγάλεως, κ.τ.λ.).

(2) *Dionysus and the Dionysiac attendants*—Pans, Satyrs, and Sileni—were constantly regarded as goats, probably in their character of woodland and harvest divinities.³⁶⁶

(3) *Artemis* was locally known as Κναγία, Κνακαλησία, and Κνακεῆτις.³⁶⁷ Many ancient terra-cottas and marbles represent her accompanied by a goat, and a silver medallion from Herculaneum³⁶⁸ shows her head between two goats rampant to r. and l.

(4) *Hera* was called Αἰγοφάγος at Sparta. Tradition said³⁶⁹ that her cult there had been founded by Herakles who, after his expedition against the sons of Hippoköön, first sacrificed a goat to her, because she had not opposed him. An amphora in the British Museum (*Cat. of b.-f. Vases* B 57, page 66; Gerhard *Aus. Vas.* ii. No. 127) shows Herakles with club upraised advancing towards Hera, who bears a large round shield on her left arm, poises a spear in her right hand, and wears over her head the skin and horns of a goat. Behind Herakles stands a female figure: behind Hera, Poseidon, who carries a trident with spear-head at lower end. Between Herakles and Hera, as also between the latter and Poseidon, is placed a caldron with four snakes.

Juno Lanuvina, Hera's Italian counterpart, is normally draped in a goat's skin with long goat-horns. This is seen to best advantage on those monuments which represent her in combat with Hercules. Several of them are figured in Roscher, *Lex. coll.* 2262, 2263, 2265; but the clearest specimen is one drawn by Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler* i. No. 299b.

(5) *Aphrodite Pandemos* was conceived as a goddess riding on a goat,³⁷⁰ which animal has in this connection a phallic significance. Possibly this is a clue to the amphora in the British Museum (*Cat. of b.-f. Vases* B 254) which represents Poseidon riding in a quadriga with 'Aphrodite,' who wears an aegis; Mr. Walters, however, considers the name a mistake for 'Athena.' At any rate Roman coins of the gens Fonteia³⁷¹ show Cupid seated on a goat with a thyrsus beneath it. And Martial (VIII. li. 9, 13) describes a cup by Mentor which bore as its device a winged Amor riding a goat.

(6) *Hermes*, to whom young goats were offered, was said to have begotten Pan in goat-form. He too is sometimes depicted as mounted on a goat.³⁷²

(7) Zeus Kretagenes was brought up by the nymph Amaltheia, who fed him with the milk of the cave-goat Αἰξ or Αἶγα. Subsequently Zeus slew Αἰξ in order to wear her skin as an aegis, when attacked by the Titans ;

³⁶⁶ *The Golden Bough*, vol. i. pp. 326-8; vol. ii. pp. 34-7; Roscher, *Lex. coll.* 1038-9, 1059. We have already remarked that at Potniae a goat was sacrificed to Dionysus Αἰγοβάλος in lieu of a human victim, p. 106; Pauly, *Real-Encycl.* ed. 2, col. 976.

³⁶⁷ Paus. III. xviii. 3, VIII. xxiii. 3, VIII. liii. 5.

³⁶⁸ Weleker, *Alle Denkm.* ii. Taf. 3, 5. On the sacrifice of goats to Artemis see Roscher, *Lex. coll.* 581-2.

³⁶⁹ Paus. III. xv. 7.

³⁷⁰ *Mythology and Monuments*, p. 333, Fig. 49; Roscher, *Lex. coll.* 419.

³⁷¹ Morell, *Thesaurus Num.* 3, b, c, d.

³⁷² Roscher, *Lex. coll.* 2378, 39 ff.

for the Titans regarded this animal with especial awe. Zeus rewarded Aix with a place among the stars. A variant legend made *Amaltheia* herself the goat.

We cannot, indeed, pronounce with certainty that our Island stones illustrate any of these fragmentary notices. Nevertheless, reasons have been given for supposing that the first Cretan gem was connected with the cult of Zeus Kretagenes, whose sacred animals were the bull and the goat. It was further suggested that this would account for the presence of the notched shield as part of the device. Now Rossbach's serpentine likewise comes from Crete and bears a notched shield. It is therefore possible that it has reference to the same cult.

The provenance of the first goat-gem (Athens) points to some connection with the worship of the goat-Athene. But in that case the presence of the lion-figure is unintelligible. Assuming that the two are not independent fancies of the artist but symbols of the same deity, I would suggest that they have a Dionysiac meaning. At any rate, both the lion and the goat were sacred to Dionysus. The Maenads, who in their orgies rent live *goats* asunder (*αἰγίλξεν*), are akin to Agave who exults over what in her madness she takes to be a *lion's* head. In both cases it is the divine animal which is slain.

But, whatever be the precise cult or cults to which these gems should be referred, I cannot doubt that they represent human beings dressed in the skins of goats. Hesychius tells us that the Bacchantes wore goat-skins (*s.v.* *τραγηφόροι*); and the ritual which survived in the case of Dionysus may well be a relic of a more wide-spread practice.

VII.—THE CULT OF THE SWINE.

ὥς οὐχὶ τοῦτ' ῥύγχος ἀτεχνῶς ἔσθ' ὕός.

PHEREKRATES *ap.* Athen. *Deipn.* 95 D.

The last animal with which our evidence requires us to deal is the pig. Unerkält müssen wir vorläufig ein Gemmenbild lassen (Cades, *Abdr.* 54, Nr. 76), welches hinter einem Rinde ein vermuthlich schweinsköpfiges Wesen zeigt.³⁷³ And yet not altogether 'unerkält.' After what has gone before it will hardly be denied that this design (Fig. 21) has a religious significance. The human legs; the girdle (which appears just below the body of the ox); the trailing cloak of hide—all the details in fact point to its representing a man dressed in a pig-skin garb. The spines or tassels down the back of the figure are conventional bristles. With them may be compared the bristles of the wild boar on a glandular gem from the Peloponnese;³⁷⁴ also the horse's mane on a fragment of fresco from Mycenae,³⁷⁵ discovered by M.

³⁷³ Milchhöfer, *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 80, Fig. 51; Middleton, *Engraved Gems*, p. 20.

³⁷⁴ Milchhöfer, *op. cit.* p. 92, Fig. 59b.

³⁷⁵ 'Εφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική, 1887, Pl. 11.

Tsountas; or again, the spines down the back of a figure clad in bear's skin, drawn by Micali.³⁷⁶ But though the gem in question³⁷⁷ is obviously a cult-gem comparable with those which we have already examined, to elucidate its details is not easy.



FIG. 21.

Our one clue is that it seems to have come from Crete. Now Athenaeus (375 F ff.) remarks:—

περὶ δὲ ὕων ὅτι ἱερὸν ἐστὶ τὸ ζῶον παρὰ Κρησὶν Ἀγαθοκλῆς ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ Κυζίκου φησὶν οὕτως· ‘μυθεύουσιν ἐν Κρήτῃ γενέσθαι τὴν Διὸς τέκνωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς Δίκτης, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἀπόρρητος γίνεται θυσία. λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἄρα Διὶ θηλὴν ὑπέσχεον ὅς καὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ γρυσμῷ περιοιχνεύσει τὸν κνυζηθμόν τοῦ βρέφους ἀνεπαίστον τοῖς παριοῦσιν ἐτίθει. διὸ πάντες τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο περισέπτον ἡγούνται καὶ οὐκ ἄν, φησί, τῶν κρεῶν δαίσαιντο. Πραίσιοι δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ ῥέξουσιν ὑί, καὶ αὕτη προτελὴς αὐτοῖς ἢ θυσία νενόμισται.’ τὰ παραπλήσια ἱστορεῖ καὶ Νεάνθης ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ τελετῆς.

Here, then, we have direct evidence for supposing that the pig was worshipped by the Cretans in connection with the legend of Zeus Kretagenes. And since we have found (p. 131) that deity appearing in bull-form apparently as a god of vegetation, it is possible that the pig also to whom the Praisians sacrificed was an embodiment of Zeus as a corn-spirit. This would not be without a parallel. Mr. Frazer has rendered it all but certain that Demeter³⁷⁸ and Persephone, as well as the Phrygian Attis and the Syrian Adonis, were originally conceived as pigs. And of Dionysus, another vegetation-god, Nonnos writes:—

εἰ δέμας ἰσάζοιτο τύψω σ υ ό ς, υἷα Θουῶννης
ἀείσω, ποθέοντα συνοκτόνον εὐγαμον Αὔρην,
ὀψιγόνου τριτάτοιο Κυβηλίδα μητέρα Βάκχου.

Dion. i. 26ff.

But, whether Zeus Kretagenes was a corn-god or not, he seems to have been worshipped both as bull and as pig. Of the former aspect of his cult I have already spoken at length: and for the latter the passage from

³⁷⁶ *Mon. Ant.* Pl. 15.

³⁷⁷ It belongs to the large private collection of Mr. A. J. Evans, to whose courtesy I am

indebted for the impress from which Fig. 21 has been drawn.

³⁷⁸ *The Golden Bough*, vol. ii. p. 49 ff.

Athenaeus is sufficient voucher. It may be, therefore, that the gem which represents both these animals is to be connected with the worship of Zeus Kretagenes.

At the same time we must not forget that both the ox and the pig were sacred to Demeter; and that Crete was 'one of the most ancient seats of the worship of Demeter,'³⁷⁹ who bore the infant Ploutos to Iasion—

*νυίῳ ἐνι τριπόλῳ Κρήτης ἐν πτόνι δῆμῳ.*³⁸⁰

So that it is equally possible to explain the gem as a scene from the early ritual of this goddess; in which case the pig would again symbolize the corn.

It is at least safe to conclude that the gem represents a worshipper of a Cretan swine-deity leading to sacrifice a bull, which he holds by the horns. The propriety of the victim selected lies perhaps in the fact that it is another embodiment of the same god.

Whether the ceremonial wearing of a pig's skin continued into classical times, I have been unable to discover. It is to be noted, however, that at Ialysus a decree (Dittenberger, *Syll. Inscr. Graec.* no. 357, vv. 22 ff.; cp. no. 388, vv. 22 ff.) forbade any man to enter the temple precinct of Alektrone with shoes of pig-skin on his feet. Also we may cite in this connection the vase-painting discussed by Studniczka in the *Jahrbuch* for 1891, pp. 258-262. It represents Hermes with his caduceus bringing to the altar a dog dressed in a pig-skin. That this is a make-belief of the Chthonian pig seems clear from the character of its conductor. Lastly, it is conceivable that the scene in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (v. 738 ff.), where the Megarian dresses up his two daughters³⁸¹ as pigs, is a parody of some religious rite.³⁸² In favour of this is the particularity of the description:—

*ἀλλ' ἔστι γάρ μοι Μεγαρικά τις μαχανά.
χοίρως γὰρ ὑμὲ σκενάσας φασὼ φέρειν.
περίθεσθε τάσδε τὰς ὀπλὰς τῶν χοιρίων.
ὅπως δὲ δοξεῖτ' ἡμεν ἐξ ἀγαθῆς ὕος...
ἀλλ' ἀμφίθεσθε καὶ ταδὶ τὰ ῥυγχία,...
ὅπως δὲ γρυλιξεῖτε καὶ κοῖξετε
χῆσσεῖτε φωνὰν χοιρίων μυστηρικῶν.*

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 331.

³⁸⁰ Hes. *Theog.* 971. Cp. Merry on Hom. *Od.* v. 125.

³⁸¹ Cp. Arist. *Vesp.* 573 εἰ δ' αὖ τοῖς χοιριδίοις χαίρω, θυγατρὸς φωνῇ πεπιθέσθαι: though the scholiast *ad loc.* (ed. Blaydes, p. 285) has a different interpretation.

³⁸² What form the mimicry of a pig would

take, may be seen from a Theseus-kylix in the Brit. Mus. (*Mythology and Monuments*, p. cxv. Fig. 25), on which Phaia and the sow are—as Miss Harrison points out—'noticeably parallel. Every effort is made to give to the woman a rude and beast-like appearance; her hair is rough and disordered, her arms spotted.'

VIII.—THE RELATION OF THESE CULTS TO TOTEMISM AND TO ANTHROPOMORPHIC WORSHIP.

μῆξόθηρες φῶτες.—EUR. *Ion*, 1161.

It is time to recapitulate the results which the foregoing investigation may claim to have established. In the centuries immediately preceding the Dorian invasion (roughly from B.C. 1500 to 1000) there existed throughout the Aegean Archipelago and the eastern coasts of the Greek peninsula a wide and varied worship of animals both wild and tame. Among the former were the lion, the wild-bull, and the stag; while the latter comprised the ass, ox, horse, goat and pig.

(α) Of these the ass and the lion were held to be embodiments of a Chthonian daemon, whose special prerogative was to guard the waters of the underworld. The worshippers of this daemon were wont to disguise themselves in asinine and leonine skins of an artificial sort. Apart from the mere oblation of slain beasts, their ritual involved a mystic hydrophoria and a mimetic dance.

(β) The lion also appears in connection with a tree-cult at Amyclae, and along with the goat was emblematic of Dionysus. Those who took part in the Dionysiac orgies wore the spoils of both animals.

(γ) The wild-bull was the animal form of the water-god, Poseidon Taureos; his human representatives, dressed in bulls' heads and hides, underwent a symbolical subjugation, which serves to explain the wide-spread practice of the *ταυροκαθάψια*.

(δ) The ox, the goat, and perhaps the pig, were vehicles of Zeus Kretagenes probably in his character of vegetation-god. Ministrants arrayed in the *προτομαί* of these animals masqueraded to his honour.

(ε) The horse was another Chthonian daemon, whose function was to escort the dead to Hades. As such he received the offerings of men dressed in equine garb, who also performed a rite similar in kind to that of the bull-worshippers and seemingly intended to secure immunity from death.

(ζ) Lastly, a human victim wearing a stag's head and horns was sacrificed to the wolf-god on Mount Lukaioi in Arcadia.

Doubtless many of the ceremonial details belonging to each of these cults have been irrecoverably lost. Enough remains, however, to justify some inferences of general application. It will have been observed that the

cult-scenes on the Island stones may be grouped into three classes, according as the artist depicts :—

i. *A human being wearing the προτομή of an animal over the upper half of his body, to which it is secured by a girdle round the waist.*

[See exx. of Ass (p. 81, fresco), Lion (pp. 115, bas-relief; 116), Ox (p. 120), Stag (p. 133), Horse (at Phigaleia p. 139, Nikaea p. 148, and Chiuse p. 150), Goat (pp. 116, 120, 150), Swine (p. 153).]

ii. *An animal wearing its own προτομή in the same fashion.*

[See exx. of Lion (pp. 104, 106), Bull (p. 120).]

iii. *One animal wearing the προτομή of another.*

[See exx. of Ass + Lion (p. 84), and Horse + Bird (p. 138).]

It seems at first sight plausible to suppose that intaglios of class i. represent the worshipper of the animal, those of classes ii. and iii. the animal or animals worshipped. But further reflection shows that such a hypothesis is untenable. And for this reason. An animal dressed in a man's clothes, or a man dressed in an animal's hide, is a comparatively simple mode of expressing the relationship thought to exist between the two. But that an animal should be attired in its own hide is from this point of view inexplicable. Hence in class ii. the animals so portrayed must not be considered as mere animals, but rather as symbols of *men* called by animal-names, the ritual garb and act being retained in order to differentiate them from ordinary beasts. This explanation is supported on the one hand by the literary preservation of such animal-names for the devotees of animal-gods—*e.g.* ἄρκτοι and λέοντες, ταῦροι and ἔλαφοι—; and on the other hand by the frequent symbolism of the Greek artists who represented Λέων of Sinope as a stone lion, Λέαινα of Athens as a bronze lioness. Again, the third class of engravings, which portray one animal wearing the προτομή of another, is on this showing not less intelligible. Given that the Cyprian λέοντες worshipped a daemon which appeared at one time as an ass, at another as a lion; was it not natural to represent them as lions dressed in asses' skins? That we are on the right track in thus interpreting the animal figures of classes ii. and iii. as symbols of *men* called by animal-names, is indicated by the fact that such figures occasionally bear vessels in *human* hands, *e.g.* the asses on pp. 81, 84, the lion on p. 106, the bulls on p. 120.

It would appear, then, that in these pre-Homeric cults the celebrants were wrapped in the skin and called by the name of the animal they worshipped.

Thus attired they performed their respective rites—the hydrophoria, the mimetic dance, the mock subjugation, and the animal sacrifice. With regard to the last we see :—

The *lion* (p. 84) and the *Cretan goat* (p. 84) offered by *Asinine* figures :

The *ox* (p. 106) offered by a *Leonine* figure :

The *Cretan goat* (p. 120) offered by a *Bovine* figure :

The *stag* (p. 138) offered by an *Equine* figure :

The *ox* (p. 153) offered by a *Swine* figure.

Now all this—it might be urged—is in favour of concluding that to the early inhabitants of the Aegean these animals were not only objects of veneration but also totems. For in totemic tribes—

(1) 'The clansman is in the habit of assimilating himself to the totem by dressing in the skin or other part of the totem animal':³⁸³ and this is exactly what was done by the Mycenaean worshippers.

(2) The totem, if it be an animal, must not be slain: and we note that on our gems in no case does the offering brought by an animal figure resemble the offerer (and, by implication, his deity) in kind.

(3) 'The clansman also affixes his totem mark as a signature to treaties and other documents':³⁸⁴ and this explains the occurrence of the cult-scenes on the Island stones, which were certainly used as signets.

(4) 'In death, too, the clansman seeks to become one with his totem':³⁸⁵ and we recall the fact that in the largest shaft-grave at Mycenae two metal masks were found, an ox-head of silver and a lion's-head of gold.

Moreover, sundry superstitions of the later Greeks point in the same direction. To the evidence quoted by Mr. Frazer³⁸⁶ may perhaps be added the coincidence that—

(5) Just as some totem clans 'are careful not to speak of their totem by its proper name, but use descriptive epithets instead,'³⁸⁷ so 'the oracular and sacerdotal'³⁸⁸ phraseology of the primitive Greeks used *e.g.* *ἀνόστεος* = cuttle-fish, *ἰδρίς* = ant, *φερέουκος* = snail.

Are we, then, to decide that the Mycenaean celebrants were totemists? Not, I think, without qualification. Fully to establish that proposition, it would be necessary to prove that among them a man (*α*) might not marry a woman who worshipped the same animal, and (*β*) might under no circumstances kill and eat the body of the beast whose kinship he claimed.

On both these points our data are very limited but, so far as they go, tend to refute the supposition:—

(*α*) With regard to the marriage restriction, it is known that 'no man would marry a girl who had not been a bear'³⁸⁹ at the Athenian *ἀρκτηία*; but this is not decisive either way, as it is uncertain whether the said man and girl were both bear-worshippers. The animal genealogies on pp. 125, and 146 are, if I am right in my interpretation, against the totemic prohibition; but here again the evidence is unsatisfactory, since the connections may be mere figments of later *μυθοποιοί* who—as Pausanias (I. xxxviii. 7) remarks—'when they have nothing to go upon for their genealogies, think it well to invent fresh ones.' (*β*) In dealing with the second question we are on more certain ground. It is true, on the one hand, that the cult-scenes of the gems do not represent *e.g.* a bull killed by a bull-man.

³⁸³ Frazer, *Totemism*, p. 26.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p. 30.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p. 36.

³⁸⁶ *Op. cit.* pp. 15, 33, 34, 40, 41, 79.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.* p. 15.

³⁸⁸ K. O. Müller, *Hist. Gr. Lit.* p. 86, quoted by Paley on Hes. *W. and D.*, p. 524.

³⁸⁹ Frazer, *Totemism*, p. 40.

It is true also that the Cretan swine-worshippers abstained from eating swine's flesh.³⁹⁰ Further it is noticeable that Mycenaean remains, which furnish several clear instances of the ceremonial wearing of *artificial* masks and cloaks, have hitherto yielded no certain case of an *actual* skin being so worn. This fact admits of two explanations. Either the artificial cloak was a civilized substitute for a more primitive hide: or the counterfeit garb was original and deliberately adopted in order to spare the life of the sacred animal. Against the former of these interpretations I would urge that actual skins are known to have been worn by the later Greeks in certain religious rites, civilization notwithstanding. And the latter construction supports the view that the animals worshipped by the Mycenaeans were genuine totems. But again we have to weigh conflicting evidence. For, on the other hand, that a swine-figure should sacrifice a bull (see gem on p. 153) to a deity who appeared now as a pig, now as a bull, would have been contrary to totemic principles:³⁹¹ and the same may be said of the oblation of lions by an asinine figure (see gem on p. 84), and perhaps of the slaughter of a goat by a bovine figure (see gem on p. 120). Still more impermissible must have been the sacrificing of the totem itself.³⁹² Yet it is certain that in later times stags were burnt at the Laphria to the stag-goddess (p. 134); just as sheep in Cyprus were slain to the Cyprian sheep-goddess (p. 106). Moreover, such epithets as *αἰγοφάγος* or *νεβροκτόνος* discountenance the idea that the gods so known were regarded as true totems.

On the whole, I gather that the Mycenaean worshippers were not totemists pure and simple; but that the mode of their worship points to its having been developed out of still earlier totemism. The main modifications introduced into that prehistoric system were, on the one hand the permission to marry within the limits of the clan, and on the other the exaltation of the totem to the rank of an animal-god. The latter step brought with it the oblation of what had once been the totem animal, now regarded as the favourite or symbol of the god. Henceforward the totem-clan was supplanted by the clan of animal-worshippers, who perhaps recognized a subdivision of the cult-duties in some sort corresponding to the social organization of the totem-clan. At least Porphyry in his account of the Diipolia observes that 'Those who are descended from Sopatros who struck the ox are all called Bouphonoi, and those who are descended from the man who drove the ox round are called Kentriadai, and those who slay the ox are called Diastroi.'

Whether the animal god was himself conceived as bestial or as human is a question which I do not propose to discuss at length. Such indications as exist point to the latter view. Strict animal-worship could hardly have

³⁹⁰ Athenaeus, *loc. cit.* p. 153.

³⁹¹ Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 88: 'It seems a fair conjecture that such multiform deities are tribal or phratric totems, with the totem of the tribal or phratric sub-divisions tacked on as incarna-

tions.'

³⁹² Mr. Frazer tells me that among purely totemic tribes there is *no* certain example of the *sacrifice of the totem animal*. A dubious exception is the turtle-sacrifice of the Zunis.

amalgamated with alien and imported divinities of an anthropomorphic type. But, given that the animal-god had come to be credited with human attributes, the fusion of religions which seems to have taken place at Mycenae is natural enough. Moreover, there is direct evidence to hand. Certain gold ornaments brought from Rhodes by Messrs. Salzmänn and Biliotti represent a winged female with outstretched arms, who from her waist downwards has the body of a bee. In other cases the humanity is complete. Herakles, whose genesis from a lion-cult we have already traced, appears as a man on a very early lenticular steatite in the British Museum. A woman-figure flanked by a pair of lions is also a frequent motive. And deities both male and female occur holding in either hand a long-necked bird. These examples suffice to prove that anthropomorphism had begun to assert itself, while as yet the more primitive theriomorphic cults had not fallen into oblivion. In brief, the Animal-worship of the Mycenaean age must be considered intermediate between Totemism and Anthropomorphism : its ritual relates it to the former ; its conception of the animal-god to the latter.

APPENDIX.

By way of Appendix I may be permitted to add a few words on a question intimately associated with the previous discussion. If animal-worship in general and the wearing of skins in particular played so important a part in Mycenaean times, what traces did it leave on the life of the later Greeks? The indications which I have noticed fall under two main heads—(1) religious superstitions, and (2) social practices. I shall enumerate them with all brevity.

(1) *a.* The legendary evidence for the foregoing cults furnished not a few instances of human beings partially or wholly transformed into animal shape. Midas in the Phrygian myth receives asinine ears ; and Lucius in Apuleius' tale is turned into an ass. Hippomenes and Atalanta become by the fiat of Cybele lion and lioness. Hera changes the Proetides into heifers,³⁹³ Io into a cow. Artemis transforms Actaeon, Taygete, and Cos, into stags. Finally, there is the legend of Circe:—

ἥ μοι σὺς μὲν ἔθηκας ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐταίρους
 θύρας δ' ἀνέφξε συφειοῦ,
 ἐκ δ' ἔλασεν σιάλοισιν ἐοικότας ἐννεώροισιν.

HOM. *Od.* x. 338, 390.

These stories, with the doubtful exception of the last, should be regarded as relics of animal-worship. Man conceived as the servitor of the animal-

³⁹³ Another version states that Dionysus, not Hera, effected the transformation : Apollod. ii. 2 § 2, Diod. iv. 68

god is invested more or less completely with animal attributes, and at death assumes the animal shape. Indeed, I think we may venture on the general statement that within the bounds of Hellenic mythology *animal-metamorphosis commonly points to a preceding animal-cult*.

β. Secondly, certain superstitions current among the Greeks with regard to the cure of madness presuppose the same stage of religious development. Prof. A. A. Bevan was, I believe, the first to remark the parallelism between Oriental and Hellenic notions on this subject. The Eastern potentate is represented as saying: 'And at the end of the days I Nebuchadnezzar *lifted up mine eyes unto heaven*, and mine understanding returned unto me.' (Daniel iv. 34.)

The Greek maenad Agave is by Kadmos subjected to the same treatment:

ΚΑ. πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τόνδ' αἰθέρ' ὄμμα σὸν μέθες.

ΑΓ. ἰδοὺ τί μοι τόνδ' ἐξυπείπας εἰσορᾶν;

ΚΑ. ἔθ' αὐτός, ἥ σοι μεταβολὰς ἔχειν δοκεῖ;

ΑΓ. λαμπρότερος ἢ πρὶν καὶ διυπετέστερος.

ΚΑ. τὸ δὲ πτοηθὲν τόδ' ἔτι σῇ ψυχῇ πάρα;

ΑΓ. οὐκ οἶδα τοῦπος τοῦτο, γίγνομαι δέ πως
ἔννουσ, μετασταθείσα τῶν πάρος φρενῶν.

EUR. *Bacch.* 1265—1271.

Madness, then, is cured by looking at the sky. But for what reason? The explanation is—if I am not mistaken—to be inferred from another passage of Euripides. When Herakles after his fit of madness is seated on the ground with muffled head, Amphitryon breaks in:

ὦ τέκνον,

πάρες ἀπ' ὀμμάτων

πέπλον, ἀπόδике, ῥέθος ἀελίφ δεῖξον...

ἰὼ παῖ, κατὰ-

σχελέοντος ἀγρίου θυμόν,

ὥς δρόμον ἐπὶ φόνιον ἀνόσιον ἐξάγει.

EUR. *H.F.* 1203—1212.

Mania was commonly attributed to possession by some deity, being the natural state of one who was—

ἔνθεος...

εἴτ' ἐκ Πανὸς εἴθ' Ἑκάτας,

ἢ σεμνῶν Κορυβάντων

... ἢ ματρὸς ὀρείας.

EUR. *Hippol.* 141—144.

Further, in all the three cases mentioned above the mania took an animal guise. Of Nebuchadnezzar it was decreed: 'Let his heart be changed from man's, and let a beast's heart be given unto him' (Dan. iv. 16, v. 21); 'he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen' (Dan. iv. 33); his

portion was 'with the beasts of the field' (Dan. iv. 23). Agave belonged to the ἀγέλα μαινάδων (Eur. *Bacch.* 1024) who in Oppian's version pray:

ἄμμε δὲ θήρας (θές)
ὠμοβόρους, ὀλοοῖσι κορυσσομένας ὀνύχασιν
ὄφρα μιν, ὦ Διόνυσσε, διὰ στόμα δαιτρεύσωμεν.

Cyneg. iv. 305—7.

Dionysus accedes to their request,

ταῖσι δὲ γλαυκιώσαν ἐθήκατο θηρὸς ὀπωπὴν
καὶ γέννας θώρηξε, κατέγραψεν δ' ἐπὶ νώτου
ῥινὸν ὅπως νεβροῖσι καὶ ἄγρια θήκατο φύλα.
αἱ δὲ θεοῦ βουλῇσιν ἀμειψάμεναι χροῖα καλὸν
πορδάλιες Πενθήα παρὰ σκοπέλοισι δάσαντο.

Ibid. iv. 311—315.

Lastly, Amphytrion's words to Herakles—κατάσχε λείοντος ἀγρίου θυμόν—are significant when we remember that Herakles was in all probability developed out of a lion-god. I gather, then, that the special form of *animal-mania* was attributed to a temporary possession by an animal-deity. It was cured by looking up at the sky, because 'animalia suppa'—as Lucretius calls them—normally look downwards,³⁹⁴ so that the tendency to animal acts would be counteracted and the sufferer humanized³⁹⁵ by looking upwards.³⁹⁶

γ. Thirdly, it was widely believed that to wear the skin or some portion of an animal was to become endowed with its peculiar virtues. Pliny's recipes often put in requisition the hides of asses (ed. Harduin, vol. ii. 486, 15), bulls (ii. 538, 18), stags (ii. 588, 33), goats (i. 667, 30 : ii. 460, 18 ; 536, 36), or sacrificed animals in general (ii. 751, 2). And Greek amulets from Mycenaean times downwards have been made to represent various animal shapes. But in the open sea of superstition it is impossible to distinguish the contributions of particular rills. It will be better to turn our attention to those social customs which more definitely betray the influence of the Aegean cults.

³⁹⁴ καταβλέπων is the name of an African buffalo in Aelian and elsewhere.

³⁹⁵ Man, says Aristotle (*de part. an.* Γ 662b 20), διὰ τὸ μόνον ὀρθὸν εἶναι τῶν ζώων μόνον πρόσωθεν ὥπωπε. Cp. Dan. vii. 4: 'I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made to stand upon two feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it.'

³⁹⁶ Does the same conception underlie Eur. *Hec.* 1056–1068? Polumestor, going on all fours like a wild beast, prays that the Sun may cure his blindness:—

ὦμοι ἐγώ, πᾶ βῶ, πᾶ στῶ, πᾶ κέλσω;
τετράποδος βάσιν θηρὸς ὀρεστέρου
τιθέμενος ἐπὶ χεῖρα κατ' ἰχθυος; . . .
εἴθε μοι ὀμμάτων αἱματόεν βλέφαρον
ἀκέσαι' ἀκέσαιο, τυφλόν, Ἄλιε,
φέγγος ἀπαλλάξας.

His bestial nature comes out also in vv. 1070 1073:—

πᾶ πόδ' ἐπάξας
σάρκων ὀστέων τ' ἐμπλησθῶ,
θοῖναν ἀγρίων θηρῶν τιθέμενος
ἀρνύμενος λάβαν

(2) *a.* The animal disguises of the Mycenaean age were worn, so far as we can judge, on occasions of religious importance—sacred dances and ceremonial oblations. Where the god was supposed to appear under more semblances than one, the celebrants would dress some in this way, some in that. A carnelian from Athens (p. 116) showed two figures clad in the *προτομαί* of a lion and a goat respectively; a serpentine from Crete (p. 120) similarly displayed a bull- and goat-man. These mummeries seem to have survived in several localities, probably retaining something of their religious character. My evidence on the point is as follows:—

i. In the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική* for 1888 M. Tsountas published a series of Island stones discovered during the excavations at Mycenae. Among them is one³⁹⁷ which has not hitherto met with the recognition it deserves. It is described as a haematite cylinder having a series of figures, viz. a human figure, with short tunic and cap; two figures similar to the last, but having each two ox-heads; and a fourth figure with the head of an antelope. There are also two birds and two ox-heads in the field.

It should be observed that the *χιτῶν βραχύς* is composed of some hairy stuff with projecting spines, apparently in imitation of an animal's hide; and that the Janiform ox-heads are merely the engraver's device for showing both sides of the face.

ii. The *Athenaeum* for July 1, 1893, p. 39, announced the discovery near the ancient city of Hierapytna in Crete of a large marble slab, decorated with two rows of animal-headed dancers: 'human bodies with heads of men, dogs and eagles.' No detailed account of the find has as yet come to hand.

iii. M. Cavvadias, in the first instalment³⁹⁸ of his long-promised *Fouilles de Lycosoura*, calls attention to the figures represented on a fragment of drapery from the statue of Demeter. Eleven forms with female bodies in tunics have the heads, hands and feet of various animals, as of the ass, the horse, the bear, the ram and the pig. They play various musical instruments and dance. '... Ces figures ont certainement un rapport avec le culte et avec le mythe local concernant les déesses Lycosouriennes... Quant aux figures à têtes d'animaux, elles nous rappellent la métamorphose, d'après la... tradition locale, de Déméter changée en cavale pour éviter les poursuites de Poseidon.'

Dr. Waldstein, in the *American Journal of Archaeology* for 1890,³⁹⁹ speaks of them in similar terms as 'curious hybrid beings, or perhaps a scene of metamorphosis, running figures changed into animals.'

My own view is that they represent a local dance in honour of the goddess, at which animal-masks were actually worn. And the same explanation would satisfy the other examples mentioned above.

³⁹⁷ Pl. 10, No. 38, p. 179.

³⁹⁸ Livraison, i. 1893, pp. 11-12, Pl. IV.

³⁹⁹ Vol. vi. p. 210.

iv. Even at Athens dances of the kind were not unknown. In Athenaeus *Deip.* 424 E we read:—

πυνθάνομαι δ' ἔγωγε καὶ Εὐριπίδην τὸν ποιητὴν οἰνοχοεῖν Ἀθήνησι τοῖς ὀρχησταῖς καλουμένοις. ὠρχοῦντο δὲ οὗτοι περὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος νεῶν τοῦ Δηλίου τῶν πρώτων ὄντες Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐνεδύοντο ἱμάτια τῶν Θεραϊκῶν.

This is usually taken to mean that the dancers wore garments of the sort manufactured in the island of Thera. But, apart from the *à priori* improbability of such a custom, the said garments were known not as Θεραϊκά but as Θήραια (Pollux vii. 48, Θήραιον ἱμάτιον, ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου, ἢ τὸ ὡς θηρίον ἐννυφασμένον; *Etyim. Mag.* p. 85, *s.v.* Ἀμόργινος; *C.I.A.* ii. no. 374; Schol. Ar. *Lys.* 150). Hence I infer that the original reading in Athenaeus *loc. cit.* was *θηριακῶν*, which was subsequently altered to *θηραικῶν* in order to suit the better known Θήραια.⁴⁰⁰ If this be so, the animal garb worn by the celebrants very possibly resembled the cases already quoted. However that may be, these mummeries seem to have been developed in two directions—secular and religious.

β. On the one hand, losing something of their ritual character, they gave rise to that mode of dancing which Athenaeus (629 F) calls *μορφασμός* and Pollux (Δ 103) defines as 'a mimicry of all manner of animals.' The beautiful astragalos from Aegina, which J. Six in the last issue but one of the *J.H.S.*⁴⁰¹ takes to represent 'Auræ velificantes sua veste,' affords an example,⁴⁰² and may be most plausibly explained as a dance of girls imitating the flight of birds—possibly the *γλαῦξ* dance of Athenaeus, *loc. cit.*

γ. On the other hand, from the religious dance accompanied by music it is but a step to the dramatic chorus. A mimetic dance marked by signs of merriment—*e.g.* the *κόρδαξ* represented on the Mycenaean fresco—would readily take on the form of caricature and become the precursor of *Comedy*. More dignified performances—*e.g.* the shield-dance of the goat-deity—may have furnished the prototype of *Tragedy*. Such at least was Aristotle's view:—

Poet. 1449a 9 γενομένης οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτοσχεδιαστικῆς, καὶ αὐτῇ (*sc.* ἡ τραγωδία)·καὶ ἡ κωμωδία καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον, ἡ

⁴⁰⁰ In suggesting this restoration I see that I have been forestalled long since by Casaubon.

⁴⁰¹ *J.H.S.* xiii. p. 134.

⁴⁰² A cock-dance by Phrynichus is mentioned in Aristophanes' *Wasps*, 1490, πῆσσει Φρύνιχος ὡς τις ἀλέκτωρ. Similar *μορφασμοί* were practised by mediaeval jugglers. The *Daily Telegraph* for Sept. 15, 1893, notes: 'In a Bodleian manuscript of the fourteenth century there is a picture of a man disguised as a stag, who is

dancing to the sound of a tabor played by a boy, and in the same collection there is represented a goat walking on its hind-legs. Bears, pigs, and mastiffs were commonly simulated, but none of these fictitious animals had any fore-legs, staves of wood being supplied as a substitute upon which the actor could lean when he was tired, while his face was seen through an aperture in the breast.'

δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ φαλλικὰ ἂ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων διαμένει νομιζο-
μενα, κατὰ μικρὸν ἠϋξήθη.

But if this be the genesis of the drama, a simple explanation suggests itself for the dramatic practice of wearing *πρόσωπα*. It is difficult to believe that, apart from some religious association, these masks could have been retained by the dramatists of the fifth century :—⁴⁰³

‘Better, quite cast off the face-disguise
And voice-distortion, simply look and speak.’

Aristophanes’ Apology, p. 37.

If, however, they were an integral part of the mimetic rite, we can understand that to neglect them would be reckoned a grave breach of social etiquette. Hence I suspect that *dramatic masks were the direct descendants of the earlier ceremonial disguise*. The point is not without an interest of its own, and calls for less summary treatment. It is probable that their origin will appear more clearly in Comedy than in Tragedy, because the former remained in a primitive and unsophisticated state longer than the latter :—

Ar. *Poet.* 1449a 37 αἱ μὲν οὖν τῆς τραγωδίας μεταβάσεις καὶ δι’ ὧν ἐγένοντο οὐ λελήθασιν, ἡ δὲ κωμῳδία διὰ τὸ μὴ σπουδάζεσθαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔλαθεν. καὶ γὰρ χορὸν κωμῳδῶν ὁφέ ποτε ὁ ἄρχων ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ’ ἐθελονταὶ ἦσαν . . . τίς δὲ πρόσωπα ἀπέδωκεν . . . ἠγνόηται.

It will, therefore, be reasonable to begin by inquiring whether the disguise of the comic chorus resembles that of the animal-dancers described above, and is susceptible of a religious explanation.

Now it is not a little remarkable that among the known specimens of the Older Comedy so many have animal-names. Magnes⁴⁰⁴ exhibited *Βάτραχοι*, *Ὀρνιθες* and *Ψῆνες*, ‘in which the choruses imitated the sounds’ of these animals.⁴⁰⁵ Ekphantides⁴⁰⁶ wrote *Σάτυροι*; and Kratinos⁴⁰⁷ the elder followed his example. Krates composed *Ὀρνιθες*,⁴⁰⁸ and a curious drama entitled *Θηρία*, ‘in which the golden age was painted with animated and docile furniture instead of slaves, and without animal food — since the chorus of beasts protested against it.’⁴⁰⁹ A fragment⁴¹⁰ of their protest is extant :—

Καὶ τῶν ραφάνων ἔψειν χρὴ . . .
ἰχθῦς τ’ ὀπτᾶν τοὺς τε παρίχους, ἡμῶν δ’ ἀπο χεῖρας ἔχεσθαι.

Eupolis wrote the famous *Αἴγες*, in which ‘capras chori partes sustinuisse constat ex Plutarchi *Symp.* iv. 1, Macrobian *Saturn.* vii. 5, Eustath. ad *Iliad*.

⁴⁰³ It has indeed been supposed that they served to increase the resonance of the human voice, but actual experiment proves that even in the largest Greek theatres the ordinary tones of a speaker from the *λογεῖον* would be audible to the furthest seats.

⁴⁰⁴ Meineke, *Com. Frag.* i. 34.

⁴⁰⁵ J. P. Mahaffy, *Greek Class. Lit.: Dramatic Poets*, p. 202.

⁴⁰⁶ Meineke, *op. cit.* i. 36.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.* i. 58.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.* i. 62, 64.

⁴⁰⁹ J. P. Mahaffy, *op. cit.* p. 205.

⁴¹⁰ No. 3 in Meineke’s collection.

p. 1063, 44:’⁴¹¹ Phrynichus⁴¹² a satyric drama called Σάτυροι. Platon’s Γρύπες⁴¹³ and Μύρμηκες⁴¹⁴ may also be mentioned—though the latter is possibly to be identified with a play of the same name by Kantharos,⁴¹⁵ who is further known as the author of the Ἀήδονες. Kallias⁴¹⁶ issued a second Βάτραχοι before Aristophanes appeared with his Βάτραχοι, Ὀρνίθες, Πελαργοί and Σφήκες. Archippos⁴¹⁷ in his Ἰχθύς introduced a chorus of fishes addressed as ἄνδρες ἰχθύες: he seems to have written an Ὀνος⁴¹⁸ also. Diokles⁴¹⁹ named one of his pieces Μέλιτται. Lastly, Kephisodoros⁴²⁰ composed a Ὕς.

How the animal-chorus was in each case represented may be best realized by the aid of vase-paintings. In the *Bullettino archeol. napolit.* N.S.V. 1857 (Pl. VII. p. 134) Minervini discussed a vase portraying two such scenes.⁴²¹ One of them shows a chorus of ostriches, the other a chorus of dolphins: in both a flute-player is present. In the *J.H.S.* for 1882⁴²² Mr. Cecil Smith published an oenochoe from the Burgon collection and an amphora of Gerhard’s, which depict men dressed up as birds dancing to the sound of a flute: they recall Plautus’ line:—⁴²³

‘Sed quænam illæc avis est, quæ huc cum tunicis advenit?’

Such representations, it will be observed, are virtually indistinguishable from those of the ritual dances mentioned above. I infer that the animal-disguise of the comic chorus, whose religious associations were never wholly forgotten, is a survival of primitive animal-worship, the original import of the disguise being to claim the protection, if not the kinship, of the animal god.

In the case of those animals whose skins could not be worn, the disguise would be effected by painting or other means. Aristophanes (*Knights*, 520 ff.) speaks of Magnes, whose Βάτραχοι we have already noticed, as βαπτόμενος Σατραχέλοις. The scholiast *ad loc.* remarks:—

ἐχρίοντο δὲ τῷ βατραχέῳ (= frog-colour) τὰ πρόσωπα πρὶν ἐπινοηθῆναι τὰ προσωπεῖα.

This would no doubt be considered the equivalent of a mask;⁴²⁴ and it is probable that where no animal-garb was worn, *i.e.* where the god was not worshipped as theriomorphic, some such disfigurement was always retained. The grammarian Platonius⁴²⁵ informs us:

⁴¹¹ Meineke, *op. cit.* i. 115.

⁴¹² *Ibid.* i. 158.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.* i. 168.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.* i. 163, 175.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.* i. 163, 251.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.* i. 214.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.* i. 205, 207.

⁴¹⁸ Blaydes, *Arist. Ranae*, ed. 1889, p. vi.
n. 1.

⁴¹⁹ Meineke, *op. cit.* i. 251.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.* i. 268.

⁴²¹ See Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. Ant.* pt.

ii. p. 1126, Figs. 1427–1428.

⁴²² Vol. ii. p. 309 ff. Quarto Pl. XIV. He also cited Tischbein, *Hamilton Collection*, ii. 57. The Burgon oenochoe is now in the Brit. Mus.; the amphora is figured by Gerhard, *Trinkschalen*, Pl. XXX. Figs. 1–3.

⁴²³ *Poen.* V. ii. 15.

⁴²⁴ Pollux E, 102, says of a woman who used rouge: οὐ πρόσωπον ἀλλὰ προσωπεῖον φέρει.

⁴²⁵ Meineke, *op. cit.* i. 535.

τὴν αὐτὴν δέ (sc. τὴν κωμωδίαν) καὶ τρυγφδίαν φασὶ διὰ τὸ τοῖς εὐδοκίμουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ Ληναίῳ γλεῦκος δίδοσθαι, ὅπερ ἐκάλουν τρύγα, ἥ ὅτι μήπω προσωπεῖων ἡγυρμένων τρυγὶ διαχρίοντες τὰ πρόσωπα ὑπεκρίνοντο.

and again : ⁴²⁶

οἱ δὲ δεδιότες αὐτοὺς ὥστε πλουσίους πηλῷ ⁴²⁷ χρίοντες καὶ τρυγίᾳ ἐπὶ μέσης ἀγορᾶς τοὺς ἀδικούντας ἐκωμῶδουν . . . ὅτι τρυγίᾳ χριόμενοι ἐκωμῶδουν.

Dionysius Thrax, or one of his interpolators, gives a similar account : ⁴²⁸

οἱ δὲ αἰδούμενοι, μᾶλλον δὲ φοβούμενοι, τρυγίᾳ περιχρίοντες αὐτῶν τὰς ὄψεις οὕτως εἰσήεσαν—

and Horace ⁴²⁹ speaks of the tragic (*sic*) chorus as ‘peruncti faecibus ora.’ I conceive that this smearing of the face with the lees of the wine-god was intended to serve much the same purpose as the animal-disguise.

In Tragedy the link with the past is not so easily detected. Literary composition had fostered anthropomorphism, and the *μίμησις* did not often demand other than human masks. Still, it may be surmised that the form of these, which ‘appear generally to have covered the whole head like a visor,’ ⁴³⁰ betrays their origin. Again, ‘one of the most characteristic features of the tragic mask was the onkos. This was a cone-shaped prolongation of the upper part of the mask above the forehead, intended to give size and impressiveness to the face.’ ⁴³¹ It seems to me possible that in this onkos we have a relic of the elongated animal-head, or even of the crest which we noticed on the Island stones in the case of the ass, lion, and horse. Occasionally the tragic mask was still more realistic: ‘Actaeon had to be represented with horns, Argos with a multitude of eyes. Evippe in the play of Euripides had the head of a mare. A special mask of this kind must have been required to depict Io with the ox-horns in the *Prometheus Vincit* of Aeschylus.’ ⁴³² The *Arch. Zeit.* for 1878 ⁴³³ published, among others, a mask surmounted by an eagle, from a Pompeian wall-painting.

Lastly, the Satyric drama shows traces of the same origin. The dress of its satyrs consisted in ‘a rough goat-skin round the loins, with a tail hanging down behind.’ ⁴³⁴ Their masks were ‘provided with a shock of bushy hair, and exhibited coarse and lascivious features.’ They seem also to have indulged in animal postures, one of which ‘was called the *σκῶψ* or *σκῶπενμα*, and is variously explained by the old grammarians as having

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.* i. 538–9.

⁴²⁷ With this may be compared the use of *πηλός* at the Eleusinian initiation: Dem. 313, 16.

⁴²⁸ Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.* vol. ii. p. 748, 12.

⁴²⁹ *Ars Poet.* 277.

⁴³⁰ Smith, *Dict. Ant.* ed. 1891, vol. ii. p. 374

⁴³¹ Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*, p. 220.

⁴³² *Ibid.* p. 221.

⁴³³ Vol. xxxvi. Pl. 3. An eagle head-covering occurs on a cameo in Müller-Wieseler, *Denk.* i. No. 228: also on coins of the gens *Publicia*; see Morell's *Thesaurus Num.* 4–H.

⁴³⁴ Haigh, *op. cit.* p. 265.

consisted in shading the eyes with the hands, or in turning the head to and fro like an owl.⁴³⁵

δ. The wearing of sacrificial skins during religious rites may be connected with the practice of wearing them in war. The underlying idea would be the same in both cases, viz. that of putting oneself literally and metaphorically under the protection of the animal-god. It is, for example, easy to see how the worshippers of the horse might ally themselves, so to say, with their deity by wearing his skin in battle.⁴³⁶ In fact Herodotus (vii. 70) actually describes the custom. 'These Aethiopians from Asia'—he remarks—'were for the most part equipped like the Indians, but they had upon their heads the skins of horses' foreheads flayed off together with the ears and the crest; the crest serving in place of a plume, and the horses' ears being fastened upright.' To come nearer home; the *Revue Archéologique* for 1890⁴³⁷ published a fragment of green schist covered with reliefs of a quasi-Mycenaean style, on which we see a procession of warriors. 'En arrière tombe un curieux appendice, que l'on ne peut mieux comparer qu'à une queue de renard, à laquelle seraient encore attenantes les deux pattes postérieures de l'animal... Tout bien examiné, il y a là un travail de hachures obliques et parallèles, qui indique la dépouille de quelque animal à queue fournie... Dans une figure il semble même que l'on distingue la tête de l'animal.'⁴³⁸ Again, on a vase-fragment found at Tiryns we have two warriors 'from whose hips hangs down a long strip which has been explained, probably correctly, as the tail of an animal's skin thrown over their back.'⁴³⁹

The inconvenience of such a costume would ensure its ultimate rejection; but the tenacity of tradition usually retains some emblem of the past. Alexander the Great was often portrayed wearing a *lion's* mask, or a head-dress composed of an *elephant's* scalp; and coins of Seleucus I. represent that monarch in a helmet adorned with the horns and ears of a *bull*. The mintage of the Roman gens Marcia⁴⁴⁰ shows the head of Philip, King of Macedon, with two *goat's*-horns on his forehead.

Parallel customs prevailed among the Italians. The Pontifices and Salii had fur caps made of the skins of sacrificial victims. The early inhabitants⁴⁴¹ of Latium wore a very similar animal-cap by way of helmet—'fulvosque lupi de pelle galeros Tegmen habent capiti' (Verg. *Aen.* vii. 688). Again, 'the standard bearers on the arches and columns are universally represented as Vegetius describes them (*Mil.* ii. 16), with a close scull-cap over which the head and skin of some wild beast is drawn, so that the face appears through the gaping jaws.'⁴⁴² It is curious, too, how favourite among

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 291.

⁴³⁶ Frazer, *Totemism*, p. 26.

⁴³⁷ Vol. xv. pp. 145–152, Pl. IV. V.

⁴³⁸ *Rev. Arch. l.c.* p. 146 and n. 3.

⁴³⁹ Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* p. 132, Fig. 132.
See Dr. Leaf, *Companion to the Iliad*, p. 192.

⁴⁴⁰ Morell, *Thesaurus Num.* 4.

⁴⁴¹ Pliny, *N.H.* vii. 23, says: 'In multis autem montibus genus hominum capitibus caninis, ferarum pellibus velari; pro voce latratum edere, unguibus armatum venatu et aucupio vesci.'

⁴⁴² Rich, *Dict. Ant. s.v.* 'Galea pellibus tecta.'

the Romans was the Greek design of Herakles wearing the lion's mask. It occurs on coins of the gens Aburia, Acilia, Caecilia, Cornelia, Curiatia, Curtia, Domitia, Fabia, Fabrinia, Licinia, Livineia, Maenia, Marcia, Minutia, Numitoria, Opeimia, Papiria, Pinaria, Pompeia, Pomponia, Rubria, Servilia, Sextilia, Sulpicia, Terentia, Trebania, Vargunteia, Volteia: also on the 'Roma,' and consular coins. Scarcely less common is the head of Juno Sispita wearing her goat's skin and horns. She appears thus on coins of the gens Cornuficia, Julia, Mettia, Papia, Procilia, Roscia, Thoria; and on consulars. A coin of the gens Calpurnia⁴⁴³ oddly enough shows 'Junonis Lanuvinae caput quod perperam *barbatum* fingitur'! An inspection of Morell's drawing will satisfy us that the head is male, not female, and probably represents a priest of the goddess arrayed in sacrificial garb. Another skin-clad figure on Roman coins is that of Africa wearing an elephant's mask: see the gens Caecilia, Cestia, Eppia, Norbana,—also sundry consular coins. It occurs too on Graeco-Roman gems⁴⁴⁴ and other⁴⁴⁵ *objets d'art*.

Lastly, the animal-disguise dwindles to a mere emblem or device worn on the helmet or engraved on the shield. Numerous examples may be found in any treatise on ancient weapons; indeed, the custom survived far into the middle ages.

e. Another trace of primitive skin-wearing is to be found in the numismatic symbols of certain cities. Just as the warrior adopted the animal-garb for his armorial bearings, so the community to which he belonged took it for their monetary token. This is, I think, a plausible explanation for the strange un-Hellenic *half-creatures* which occur so frequently as early coin-types. The fore-part of a *lion* is found on the currency of Miletus, Cnidus, Leontini, Acanthus, and Lycia: of a *bull* on that of Phlius, Samos, Acanthus, Larissa, the Perrhaebians and Lycia: of both these animals facing each other on that of Lydia: also the forepart of a winged lion appears on coins of Lycia and Lesbos. Coins of Apollonia and Corcyra show the forepart of a *cow*. Cyme, Zacynthus, Pharcadon, Pherae, and Maroneia have the front half of a *horse*; Lesbos, Larissa, the Perrhaebians and Cleitor that of a bridled horse; Zacynthus that of a winged horse. Lycia has the foreparts of a bull and a horse, back to back. Cyzicus, Lycia, Phocis, and Lesbos show the forepart of a *boar*; Samos that of a winged boar. Aegae and Mysia have a half-*goat*: Sicyon a half-*chmiera*: Argos a half-*wolf*: Cranium and Pheneus a half-*ram*: Psophis and Selge a half-*stag*: Lycia a half-*griffin*. Similarly the type of Stymphalus is the front half of a *bird*; while there are coins of Crannon, Pherae, and Tricca, which for obverse have the forepart of a bull grasped by a youth and for reverse the forepart of a horse.

The design may have passed through further stages, since not only animal-heads, but also animal-scalps are used for the same armorial purpose.

⁴⁴³ Morell, *op. cit.* Tab. iv. 2.

⁴⁴⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat.* Nos. 1497-1501, 2236.

⁴⁴⁵ See *Le Musée Fol.*, 1875, Pl. 5, Nos. 10

and 12. It forms the topic of a paper in the *Rev. Archéol.* for 1891, vol. xvii. pp. 380-4.

Of these the most famous is the lion's scalp, which was the device of Samos and other cities: its first appearance is on an Island stone of green slate, discovered in Crete and now in the British Museum.⁴⁴⁶

Finally, a community, which adopted as its badge the symbol of the animal that it worshipped, would be not unlikely to call itself by that animal's name. It is in this way that we should probably explain the animal-titles attached to certain early Greek townships and tribes—a custom caricatured in the *Ῥᾶται*, *Ὀνεᾶται*, and *Χοιρεᾶται* at Sikyon.

A. B. COOK.

⁴⁴⁶ *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Gems*, No. 13: described as 'cuttle-fish?'